

More on the
untold 1980
story

IN THESE TIMES

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If the session is ending, it's time for Congress to attack poor women and homosexuals

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

In the halcyon days before Jesse Helms (R-NC) was elected to the Senate and Bill McCollum (R-FL) to the House, Congress used to band together on election eve to raise the minimum wage, veterans' benefits and sometimes even Social Security payments. These measures were a blatant payoff to an overwhelmingly Democratic and pro-New Deal electorate.

But the Reagan era has ended all that. The 100th Congress spent its final two months before the 1988 election picking on homosexuals, poor women who want abortions and the embattled government of the District of Columbia. Republicans like Helms and McCollum predictably took the lead, but they received a surprising amount of cooperation from timorous Democrats.

Cheap ploys and \$10,000 joints: Anti-drug legislation was indicative of a variety of ugly election-year posturing on Capitol Hill this session. Democratic Rep. Charles Rangel (NY) sponsored the Omnibus Drug Bill that Congress passed on September 22, but the final product included several disreputable amendments that were introduced by Republicans. The worst of these, sponsored by Rep. Dan Lungren (R-CA), gives police the right to use drug evidence they obtain without a search warrant if they can demonstrate afterwards that they were acting in "good faith." This provision blatantly violates the Constitution's Fourth Amendment, which prohibits "unreasonable searches and seizures." It opens the door to gestapo-like police tactics.

Republicans also successfully introduced amendments aimed, they said, at making drug users "accountable." One of these, sponsored by Rep. Mickey Edwards (R-OK), provides up to \$10,000 civil penalties (without jury trial and possibly in addition to criminal penalties) for "personal use" of drugs, including substances like marijuana, whose harm has never been conclusively proven. "Weekend cocaine snorters and joint smokers might think they have little in common with back-alley heroin and LSD addicts, but both create a demand for illegal drugs," Edwards explained. McCollum, Vice President Bush's chairman in Florida, introduced another amendment that would deny any federal benefits to persons convicted of the most minimal drug use.

Rangel proposed mandatory life terms for drug-related murders to ward off purely partisan attempts to inject the death penalty into the bill, but Rep. George Gekas (R-PA) one-upped him by introducing an amendment that would make the death penalty mandatory for anyone convicted of murder while committing a drug felony. Gekas' amendment easily passed 299 to 111.

Hired guns? The Republicans' base political motives became apparent after the House passed an amendment to the drug bill, backed by law-enforcement groups, requiring a seven-day waiting period before the purchase of a handgun. The National Rifle Association (NRA) put up \$3 million in a campaign to defeat the amendment, and they found a willing ally in McCollum, who drafted an amendment that removed the waiting period. McCollum's amendment passed 228 to 181.

In all these efforts, the Republicans relied on substantial Democratic support, which came not only from conservative Southern House members, but also from members with liberal reputations. For instance, Majority Whip Tony Coelho (D-CA) backed every one of these amendments. Northern Democratic Reps. Bob Carr (D-MI), Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL) and Lee Hamilton (D-IN) backed the Lungren amendment on warrantless searches. Former Citizen Action activist Rep. Jim Jontz (D-IN) (see *In These Times*, Oct. 12) backed the amendment providing a \$10,000 penalty for drug users and the anti-gun-control amendment.

When the drug bill came up for a vote, only 30 Democrats voted against it. Rep. Don Edwards (D-CA), the chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, led the opposition. "Drug legislation plus election-year posturing equals an assault upon the Constitution," Edwards said. He was joined by fellow Judiciary Committee members Reps. John Conyers (D-MI), George Crockett (D-MI), Barney Frank (D-MI) and Peter Rodino (D-NJ).

Those who voted for the bill include such prominent liberal Democrats as Reps. Barbara Boxer (CA), Nancy Pelosi (CA), George Miller (CA), Mel Levine (CA), Patricia Schroeder (CO), Bruce Morrison (CN), Sam Gejdenson (CN), Joseph Kennedy II (MA), Gerry Studds (MA), Stephen Solarz (NY), Tom Downey (NY), Peter Kostmayer (PA), Robert Mrazek (NY), Mickey Leland (TX), David Obey (WI) and Robert Kastenmeier (WI). A few of these House members face close election challenges, but most don't.

The original House bill has now gone to the Senate, where 14 Democrats and Republicans, including William Proxmire (D-WI), Lowell Weicker (R-CN), Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and William Cohen (R-ME) have threatened a filibuster if the most egregious amendments are tacked onto the bill.

D.C. bill: House and Senate Republicans also ganged up on the District of Columbia government—an inviting target because of its corrupt administration. Under the 1975 home rule legislation the city had gained the right to elect its own mayor and city council, but Congress retained the constitutional right to amend any district laws. In the past, Congress has rarely tampered with city laws, but this fall Republicans decided to wreak havoc on home rule.

Republicans took aim at the city's practice of paying for welfare recipients' abortions through its own funds. At the bidding of right-wing anti-abortion groups, both the House and Senate passed amendments to the city funding bill forbidding it from using local or federal money to pay for abortions. This violated the conservative principle of allowing communities to establish their own standards, but Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL) told D.C. Rep. Walter Fauntleroy that an unborn fetus' rights transcend those of the district's electorate. Many Democrats went along, including Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-MO), whose position on abortion rights appears to change with the color of the leaves.

Congress also intervened in a dispute between Catholic-

owned Georgetown University and a gay student group. When the university refused to recognize the group and provide it with facilities, the group sued the university, citing the district's anti-discrimination ordinance. A federal appeals court ruled that while Georgetown would not have to recognize the group officially, it would have to provide the organization with the "tangible benefits" accorded student organizations, including a room to meet. Georgetown agreed, and the matter appeared settled. But Sen. William Armstrong (R-CO), acting on behalf of right-wing evangelicals, put a rider on the district's funding bill exempting religious institutions from its anti-discrimination ordinance.

Armstrong's rider led to impassioned debate in both chambers. In the House, Rep. Bob Dornan (R-CA) accused the district of committing "a grievous offense not only against biblical words, but against the word of Jesus." The measure won by 58 to 33 in the Senate and 201 to 134 in the House. "It's getting close to the election, and no one wants to get caught on the side of gays," Sen. Thomas Harkin (D-IA), an opponent of Armstrong's amendment, explained afterward.

The Congress also passed an amendment that cut off the district's funds if it did not repeal a law that prevented insurance companies from denying coverage to people testing positive for AIDS, and if it did not modify its strict residence requirement for city employees. In both these cases, the question was not so much the wisdom of the laws, but the right of the city to make them. Congress' actions recalled the pre-1975 period when white Southern Democrats imposed plantation segregation on the district.

INSIDE STORY

Defense consultants: As Congress was ratifying the New Right's social agenda, it rejected a host of liberal reform measures. Lacking the votes, Democrats withdrew a new version of the Clean Air Act, which would have extended smog regulations and imposed new controls on acid rain. A House-Senate conference dropped a provision from the Defense Department authorization legislation requiring private consultants to register with the government. And bills raising the minimum wage and providing parental leave and child care were killed by Republican filibusters.

The defeat of the parental leave legislation was particularly telling. In late September Senate sponsor Chris Dodd (D-CN) tried to appease Republican critics by weakening the bill, which would have provided unpaid leave to parents of newly born children. He limited the time of leave to 10 weeks a year, and limited the bill to companies with 50 or more employees. It would have covered only 5 percent of all businesses. But with the national Chamber of Commerce denouncing the "government-mandated scheme," Reagan threatened a veto. On September 29, realizing he did not have the votes to pass the bill, Dodd took it back to committee.

The next week, to make a political point, the Democrats presented a bill that combined the parental leave and child-care proposals. But on October 7, the combined bill failed to obtain the 60 Senate votes needed to close off a Republican filibuster.

As with the New Right social agenda, Republicans could not have succeeded without Democratic support. In the move to invoke cloture on the parental leave/child-care bill, conservative Democratic Sens. Sam Nunn (GA), Alan Dixon (IL), David Boren (OK), J. James Exon (NE), Howell Heflin (AL) and John Melcher (MN) joined the Republicans.

The defeat of these bills showed that the conservative coalition of right-wing Republicans and Democratic "boll weevils"—given up for dead after the Senate defeat of Reagan's Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork—is still alive and voting. Ronald Reagan will leave the White House in January, but the political reaction he encouraged will live after him.

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By Michael Smith

SANTIAGO, CHILE

Chile's Pinochet is down, but is he out?

RICARDO ARRIAGADA, AGE 28, CAST ONE of the votes that rejected Gen. Augusto Pinochet's bid for an eight-year presidential "term" October 5, but he is worried about what's to come. "For the moment it all seems fair and square," he said after voting, "but I don't know how Pinochet will react when he loses."

The opposition victory, by a 55 to 43 percent margin, sparked clashing emotions. Chileans took to the streets in joyous celebration of Pinochet's loss in the "yes" or "no" plebiscite, but once again the recalcitrant general says he's staying put. Pinochet's 1980 constitution allows him to stay in power for another year before calling elections, and fear is mounting as security forces crack down on forces demanding the 72-year-old army chief's ouster. On October 10 Defense Minister Patricio Carvajal announced there was nothing to prevent Pinochet from running in the elections to be held in December 1990.

Long lines and lots of heat: October 5 was an emotional day for teacher Ninoska Coloma, 29. Like many of the 7.2 million people who went to the polls, she waited two hours in 80-degree heat for the first chance to vote in her lifetime.

Coloma was one of 43,000 who voted in Santiago's National Stadium. Fifteen years ago, in the coup that brought Pinochet to power, the junta turned the sports arena into a concentration camp. Dozens of people were executed and thousands suffered torture and imprisonment there.

"I was moved when I went to vote in the place where so many people died," she said after casting her vote. "But the fact that this place also gave us the chance to defeat the dictator is a fitting memorial to those victims."

Chileans jumped at the chance to exercise a newfound right to vote, and long lines were the biggest headache that day. "I've waited 15 years for this so I can wait until midnight if I have to," said one elderly woman in Santiago.

There were isolated instances of irregularities, but the 300-plus international



Augusto Pinochet, Chile's recalcitrant general, says that he is staying put.

observers in Chile for the plebiscite were surprised the vote went so smoothly. "We witnessed an historic event," said the leader of the 70-member National Democratic Institute delegation, former Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez. "The Chilean government, having held a clean plebiscite and admitted defeat, took an important step forward on

the road to democracy."

Euphoria and tension: There was elation and anxiety in the air that night at the "no command" headquarters, where the 16-party opposition coalition issued hourly counts that showed Pinochet was losing.

The government was silent and the junta was meeting in the presidential palace. Many

feared a violent crackdown was in the works to disregard the results. They had good reason: middle- and upper-echelon army commanders loyal to Pinochet had concentrated forces in strategic points in Santiago and other cities, ready to be deployed to crush an opposition victory. The U.S. State Department had warned against such a plot.

In the Villa Francia shantytown, like many others in Santiago, people had prepared for the worst as best they could. Miguel and Americo, both 13—who called themselves "Commandantes One and Four"—fashioned Molotov cocktails, and they stockpiled tires and debris to make barricades.

They were preparing to battle Pinochet's tanks, heavy machine guns and crack commando troops literally with sticks and stones. "We're not going to let the fascists massacre us like they did in 1973," said Commandante One. His comrade nodded in agreement.

In the end there was no bloodshed. At 2 a.m. Under-Secretary of the Government Alberto Cardemil announced Pinochet had lost, and euphoria erupted. As Pinochet's motorcade passed the opposition headquarters, hundreds of people poured into the street. The crowds grew larger, and in downtown Santiago they marched to the presidential palace to dance on the lawn—embracing, weeping, singing for almost three days.

"This is beautiful," said Pablo Vasquez as he hugged a friend in the street in downtown Santiago. "I feel like there is a future now, that things will change."

The celebrations had a conciliatory tone. People chanted to members of the national police who watched in astonishment: "Understand it once and for all, the fight is not with you but only with Pinochet!" One woman hugged a policeman and cried, asking him to join in the celebration. He tried to hide the tears in his eyes.

Friday afternoon more than one million people went to a rally called by the opposition in Santiago's O'Higgins Park, and large

Continued on page 22

In These Times reporter learns 'freedom of the press' in Chile means the right to run for your life

Journalists here really thought things had changed. Gen. Augusto Pinochet had just lost the plebiscite, and police accustomed to crushing demonstrations stood by to watch people take over downtown Santiago to celebrate. I had never before seen police smile and watch as the people took to the streets.

One member of the national police, dressed in riot garb, flashed the peace sign around his plexiglass shield. I actually believed reconciliation seemed near.

But the day after the plebiscite everything returned to "normal." A mass of people filled seven entire city blocks and wanted to march past the palace where Pinochet has his office. A line of approximately 75 police officers held back the crowd with their shields. Three water cannons and four "skunks"—jeeps that spew tear gas out of little ports in their sides—waited behind the police line.

About 25 photographers and reporters stood near with the police to watch. The

national police soon charged the crowd. The water cannon did its job. Tear gas filled the air. Shoes littered the street in the aftermath of the stampede of 50,000 people vacating the area in half a minute.

When the police finished with the crowd, they came for the journalists.

I began to get nervous when five or six officers ran toward me. I held up my government press pass, but they kept coming. "Journalist, journalist!" I tried to scream, but one raised his night stick. "Get the fuck out of here!" he screamed, and I felt a sharp pain on my back where his club came down.

Another group came at me from the other direction, and again I screamed, "journalist," to no avail. One hit me on the arm, and the hysterical glare in his eyes scared me. I dodged another group of police who swung at me as I continued to run. For the first time in Chile I was terrified.

I really believed anything could happen in the melee. They could shoot or beat

us all to death. There was no sense of security; I had no rights. The concept of police brutality does not exist here. I ran and ran, and they finally stopped coming.

The next night battered reporters and photographers described a concerted effort by police to persecute the press.

More than 20 journalists working for *Newsweek*, *CBS*, *USA Today* and other foreign media had been wounded by police in separate incidents.

Lee Malis, a Gamma Liaison photographer, suffered several bruised ribs and serious contusions. The police destroyed his camera equipment and smashed rolls of film. "I rolled up in a ball to protect myself as five or six (police) beat and kicked me," he said as he nursed a swollen hand. "I guess they hit me 20 or 30 times."

Newsday photographer Liana Nieto was hospitalized with a chipped hip, hairline fractures in her spine and 20 stitches to the head. At least six police beat her unconscious.

Two journalists were wounded with buckshot.

Newsweek photographer Chris Morris talked through his broken nose when recounting the incident. "They were like animals, really. Four of them threw me to the ground, kicked, and beat me in the face with their sticks," he said from his hotel bed.

An entire CBS crew was attacked the following day. "A group of police jumped us. They knew we were journalists since we had our cameras," related cameraman Ricardo Correa. "After a while I couldn't see through the blood on my face."

The U.S., Spanish and Argentine embassies lodged formal protests with the Chilean government. And the Foreign Correspondents Association met with the police, who issued an apology.

That's some consolation. What will happen when most of the media leaves and Chile is no longer a story? And what about those of us who stay? —M.S.

By Miles Harvey

Why? We don't know

The media's "who's in first?" election-coverage shtick is getting to be as confusing—and as laughable—as Abbott and Costello's famous "who's on first?" comedy routine. On October 5, for example, a front-page *New York Times* headline announced, "Latest poll finds Dukakis is closing the gap with Bush." The story below said that, according to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll, the Democrat was "closing in on Vice President Bush." The poll, of just 1,034 registered voters nationwide, showed Bush with 45 percent of the vote and Dukakis with 43 percent—compared to a poll the same two media outlets had taken 10 days earlier that showed Bush leading 46 percent to 40 percent. It wasn't until page 14 that the *Times* explained, in small print no less, that "in theory, in 19 out of 20 cases the results based on such samples will differ by no more than 3 percentage points in either direction from what would be obtained by seeking out all American adults." The *Times*, however, failed to translate that math-speak: that 3 percent swing meant that Dukakis might not only have been "closing the gap with Bush," but in fact might have been *ahead* by as much as 46 percent for Dukakis to 42 percent for Bush. Conversely, Bush might just as easily have been *widening his lead* by as big a margin as 48 percent to 40 percent. Or the two candidates could have been tied. And all that is not taking into account the swing in the earlier poll. A truthful *Times* headline would have read: "Latest poll demonstrates that in theory, *Times* has no idea who's winning presidential race." But that's hardly news—and it's certainly not fit to print.

What's in second? Exactly

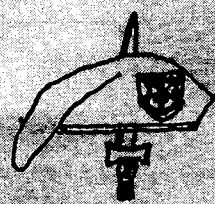
Earlier this year *U.S. News & World Report* took an in-depth look at the failings of polls. The article read, "even a casual glance at the contradictory poll results of this political year demonstrates that the uncertainties far surpass the standard 3-percent-plus-or-minus warning. For example, an NBC News poll a month before the New Hampshire primary had Michael Dukakis trailing Richard Gephardt 18 points to 19. A *Los Angeles Times* poll conducted the same day showed Dukakis leading 37 to 8. The actual result: Dukakis 36, Gephardt 20." In fact, polling consultant Irving Crespi told *U.S. News* that political polls are off by an average of 5.7 percent with one-third off by more than 6.4 percent. So why does the media insist on stressing polls at the expense of serious election coverage of the candidates and the issues?

Type casting

When producers for the Spanish TV program *En Portada* needed to dub British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's words into Castilian last month, they came up with just the right voice for the job. According to the Spanish newspaper *El Pais*, they chose the same woman who is the Spanish voice of Angela Channing, the wicked woman of TV's *Falcon Crest*.

Federally funded lifestyles of the rich and famous

Former President Gerald Ford rang up a phone bill of \$40,000 last year—and the U.S. taxpayers picked up the tab. According to *Common Cause* magazine, Richard Nixon's phone tab was \$33,500 and Jimmy Carter's came to a hardly peanuts total of \$19,000. These are just a few of the bills the U.S. government picks up for its former head honchos. The magazine reports that Americans have spent \$112 million on ex-presidents and their families over the past decade on such ostensibly important items as pensions, travel, office expenses and lifetime Secret Service protection—and such obviously less-important items as car washes and hand-made oriental rugs. Sen. Lawton Chiles (D-FL) is sponsoring a bill that would limit some of these costs. As *In These Times* went to press, the Reagan administration had not taken a stand on the legislation. But it will be interesting to see if soon-to-be former President Reagan, known for his love of the lavish, will still be insistent on "getting the government off our backs" when it's his weight the rest of us are carrying.



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Another very silly military exercise

WHITE MOUNTAINS, N.H. —This year fall brought more to the White Mountains than crisp air, brilliant foliage and throngs of rubbernecking tourists. Leaf-peepers in the "Live Free or Die" state could also spot bands of scruffy-faced guerrillas trouncing about in the woods, hiding from their fellow Army buddies.

It was part of a military training exercise of the 10th Mountain Division and the Green Berets. "Firestorm '88," which ran from mid-September to mid-October, focused on counter guerrilla warfare. Last month about 200 soldiers dressed as "guerrillas," parachuted or snuck into the White Mountains and surrounding area in New Hampshire and Maine.

Throughout the exercise, the guerrillas and their uniformed enemy played cat-and-mouse games, capturing prisoners and "eliminating" opponents. Both sides used M-16 rifles fitted with lasers: receivers planted around the soldiers' backpacks buzzed when a hit by laser beam was scored.

The Army also tried to involve local civilians in the war games. It gave out a phone number that residents were urged to call to solve the

"pesky guerrilla problem in no time." Storefronts were plastered with "Wanted Guerrillas" posters showing stubble-faced men wearing bandannas and watch caps.

Officers involved in the exercise say that, while the operation was serious, it was also intended to be fun for both the troops and public. "It's important to the troops and the civilians to know that we're not so serious," said Maj. Stan Moore of the 10th Special Forces group.

The exercise, like other official war games, was based on a fictional scenario. This one took place in "New Maine." According to the scenario, the guerrillas of New Maine were struggling for more freedom and more economic opportunity, but were not Marxists.

This exercise was unique, said Moore, because both sides were American, but were playing as if the other side is non-American. "Training like this is essential to the defense of the nation and its interests," he said. "That's why we appreciate the tolerance of local residents."

But not all local residents were tolerant. "It's sheer nonsense," said Michael Klare, director of the Peace and World Security Studies program at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass. "Guerrillas are largely moved by political motivation and a successful guerrilla operation must

have the backing of the civilian population."

Most disturbing, said Klare, is that such exercises "are preparing the American public for another Vietnam type of conflict." Klare, the author of *Low Intensity Conflict*, says Firestorm '88 was part of "the swinging pendulum back to the pre-Vietnam-era mentality. It's mobilizing public support for that kind of a war."

The exercise also bothered Ash Eames of Wentworth, a town on the edge of the White Mountains National Forest. "This is training for the big stuff," said Eames, a staffer for the New Hampshire Central America Network in Concord. "It epitomizes the thinking of the Western world's leaders that the world is divided between good and evil, and the only solution to that kind of thinking is war. At every opportunity we need to interrupt that kind of thinking."

In response to Firestorm '88, the New Hampshire Central America Network sponsored a negotiation session to which both the "good guys" and the "bad guys" were invited. Prior to the event Arnie Alpert of the American Friends Service Committee said: "We want the public to be aware that in addition to insurgents and counterinsurgents, there are peacemakers." But none of the marauding warriors showed up.

—Eric E. Aldrich

Brazil's new constitution

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL—As the world anxiously awaited the outcome of Chile's plebiscite (see story on page 3), on October 5 Brazilians quietly celebrated the promulgation of a new constitution—the country's eighth since independence in 1822.

The new document replaces the authoritarian legal structure left behind by the Brazilian military, which ruled the country by decree from 1964 to 1985. The constitution was the first task of the Brazilian congress under civilian rule. Its passage officially restores a host of individual and collective rights that the armed forces had annulled. The amount of progressive new legislation contained in the constitution is also impressive. But making those laws into a day-to-day reality is perhaps the greatest challenge ahead.

Individual rights enjoy a prominent place in the charter, including the provision that police cannot detain criminal suspects without a judge's authorization. Throughout Brazil, police abuse of poorer suspects is rampant, and frequently condoned by the middle class. The constitution obliges police to inform a prisoner's family of his or her whereabouts immediately after arrest. Individuals charged with torture (as well as those who order it) can be held without bail.

The new Brazilian constitution also prohibits censorship in any form, provides for broad freedom of assembly and the unrestricted right to strike. Though President Jose Sarney warned that such measures would "render the country ungovernable," the congress stood firm in establishing the 44-hour workweek, eight-hour workday and time-and-a-half pay for overtime as constitutional rights. New mothers gained the right to a generous maternity leave, and new fathers can claim

time off from work as well. The constitution grants labor unions unlimited freedom to organize, and allows for stiff penalties against anyone found guilty of racism or discrimination.

Such provisos are ambitious in a country known for its strikingly skewed distribution of income between rich and poor, and for its chronic unwillingness to grant disadvantaged groups the benefits of economic growth. "The great task now will be to translate these rights into day-to-day realities for the majority of Brazilians," remarked Marcio Bastos, president of the national Order of Lawyers. "Only with a democratic government and an organized society will it be possible to execute what this constitution ordains," added Maria Lucia Karam, a Rio de Janeiro judge.

Though traditionally underrepresented groups such as Indians, women, blacks and environmentalists made important contributions to the constitution-writing process, many argue that their achievements were largely symbolic. The battle over including a significant land reform in the constitution saw the organized right wing emerge as a savvy lobby group. Large landowners thwarted lawmakers' attempts to design a major redistributive reform, despite widespread agreement that only such a proviso can save Brazil's small farmers from extinction. After a strenuous pressure campaign by the right-wing Democratic Rural Union (UDR), the assembly voted in May to exclude so-called "productive" lands from expropriation. The UDR's victory convinced many that the rich remain the most politically powerful minority in Brazil.

The military also scored critical victories in the rewritten constitution, which officially sanctions the armed forces' role as the protector of national security against internal, as well as foreign, aggression. Some

analysts allege that this single clause puts the entire charter in jeopardy, since it lends legitimacy to the military's claim that it should seize power when civilian governments are unable to manage social and political strife.

"We still have a record [in Brazil] with six military men holding cabinet posts, and the information and intelligence services are either totally militarized or close to it," commented Carlos Alberto Sardenberg of the influential *Jornal do Brasil*. He argues that the military's almost uncontested control over security matters indicates that Brazil has made very little progress in institutionalizing effective civilian command over the armed forces.

Left-leaning members of the constituent assembly did achieve some gains in the economic sphere, although these may be the first to undergo revision in the years ahead. The constitution states that annual interest rates cannot exceed 12 percent, for example, and it prohibits foreign investors from gaining majority shares in mining and petroleum ventures. Brazilian and not multinational enterprises must get the first crack at government contracts.

Those measures elicited cries of dismay from Sarney and others who advocate opening—rather than closing—the ailing economy to foreign investment. Big business denounced the constitution as a "catalogue of suicidal solutions" to the country's economic woes. The conservative daily *El Globo* dismissed the new legislation as the legacy of a nationalism "as false as it is obsolete."

Overall, the document's heterogeneous and sometimes contradictory character reflects a mistrust between leftists and conservatives that is destined to be a feature of the political scene for as long as civilian rule lasts.

—Elizabeth Station

Bush: the life of the (Grand Old) Party

"A star was born," declared public relations expert Tex McCrary in 1971 after witnessing then-U.N. Ambassador George Bush in action at a social function. McCrary, who called Bush "a cross between Billy Graham and Bob Hope with a touch of Will Rogers," was right. A star was born: Bush used the ambassadorship to catapult his political career in the wake of a disastrous 1970 senatorial loss to Lloyd Bentsen.

But how Bush became ambassador is one of the most interesting and telling details of his long rise to the top of the Republican Party.

When Bush gave up his Texas congressional seat to run for the Senate against Bentsen in 1970, the Nixon administration assured him that if he lost, the White House would have a role for him, according to jour-

nalists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in their book *Nixon in the White House*.

After Bush's loss, he was called to a meeting at the White House with President Nixon. Nixon had decided to appoint Bush to the White House staff as an "assistant to the president," with unspecified duties, according to a Dec. 9, 1970, memorandum written by H.R. Haldeman, Nixon's chief of staff. In *These Times* discovered the memo among Nixon's documents at the National Archives.

Bush told Nixon that he'd be delighted to take on that assignment, according to the memo, but then made a pitch for himself to be appointed instead as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

Haldeman's memorandum indicates that Bush did quite a job: "He explained the reason for his interest in the United Nations was his feeling that for too long the president had

not been represented there by anyone who was a strong advocate. He also pointed out there was a dearth (sic) of Nixon advocacy in New York City and the general New York area and that he could fill that need in the New York social circles he would be moving in as ambassador."

After the meeting, Nixon called Haldeman and said that he'd been "very strongly persuaded by Bush's arguments, and that he had decided he wanted him to take the U.N. post instead."

And so it was that George Bush advanced his career, apparently with no mention of international relations or foreign countries and scarcely any mention of the United Nations. With promises of Nixon-boosting and party-going, Bush had talked his way into being the new ambassador to the United Nations and, more importantly, to New York.

—Robert Ranftel

The wrong way to fight AIDS

Illinois is the only state that requires mandatory premarital testing for the AIDS virus. The testing has long been criticized by civil libertarians as well as medical groups. And now the *Chicago Tribune*, citing Illinois Department of Public Health figures, reports that of the 125,000 people required to take the test in the first nine months of 1988, only 15 people were found to be infected with the virus. The cost of finding those cases was \$693,000 apiece—based on medical fees paid by the couples, state expenditures to monitor the program and revenue losses in Illinois counties due to Illinois residents opting to get cheaper marriage licenses in neighboring states.

The wrong way to fight drugs

The *Washington Post* reports that of 2,100 Customs Service employees tested for drugs, a grand total of one tested positive.

The wrong way to fight dissent

Delores Huerta, the 58-year-old first vice president of the United Farm Workers (UFW), is still recovering from a clash with San Francisco police last month that left her with two broken ribs and a ruptured spleen. Huerta was injured when baton-wielding police forced demonstrators away from the site of a \$1,000-a-plate fundraiser for Vice President Bush. Huerta had come to San Francisco to demonstrate after Bush announced his firm opposition to the UFW's boycott of table grapes. The four-year-old boycott's aim, among others, is to protest the use of dangerous pesticides on the grapes. Yes, that's the same George Bush who's campaigning as an environmentalist (see page 7). And the same one who wants to broaden police powers.



Return of the caricature from the black lagoon

In 1956 more than 150 college newspapers officially endorsed a possum for president. The country ended up getting stuck with a rat, Dwight Eisenhower, but that was hardly cartoonist Walt Kelly's fault. Kelly's comic strip "Pogo," about a wry possum of the same name, served as an important tool of social criticism from its inception in 1948 until Kelly's death in 1973. During the days of redbaiting and blacklisting, for example, Kelly daringly lampooned Sen. Joseph McCarthy with a cartoon character named Simple J. Malarkey. It's just too bad that "Pogo" wasn't around for all the Reagan-era fun. But there's good news—next year, Pogo and his pals from the infamous Okefenokee Swamp will be back drawling their way across the nation's funny pages. A Chicago-based writer-artist duo, Larry Doyle and Neil Sternecky, is behind the strip's return. "It would be hard to be more liberal than Walt Kelly," says Doyle playfully. "But we're going to give it a shot."

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

MICHAEL DUKAKIS HAD JUST LEFT THE stage at the lavishly remodeled Regal Theater in the heart of Chicago's southside black community. His first campaign stop aimed at northern, urban blacks had come off smoothly enough, despite some petty wrangling from local black political rivals.

In his tributes to the late Mayor Harold Washington and to Jesse Jackson, who was not present even though his home is a little more than a mile away, Dukakis had hit many of the right notes. He had attacked George Bush as the candidate of an America where the rich get richer "and the rest of us just get by" and underlined his own support of equal opportunity, civil rights, affirmative action, District of Columbia statehood and an end to South African apartheid.

Yet even though the crowd appreciated his appearance early this month, audience members were hardly wowed. Frankie Ingram, a 34-year-old clerical worker was working for Dukakis, but "it's mostly based on Democrat vs. Republican," she said as she left the theater. "Can't be any worse than the Republican Party, so you got to trust somebody. [Dukakis] is a shy guy, not an exciting kind of guy. But what he says gives you a sense of security."

Between black and white: For Dukakis to win the crucial state of Illinois, he will have to inspire or organize a huge black turnout in Chicago. But a large black showing seems in doubt, thanks both to local political squabbling over an upcoming mayoral race that pits several leading blacks against each other, and to a weak national campaign.

Dukakis will also have to win among voters like middle-aged Lynn Heglund and her mother Elsie Alexander from the city's white, middle- and working-class southwest side. Alexander, a local Democratic election judge, is likely to vote for Bush because she sees the Democrats as identified with blacks. "Before you know it, we'll have a what-do-you-call-it president," she said, sitting in a Dunkin' Donuts, nodding in the direction of a black customer.

Her daughter, a part-time clerical worker, thinks "the economy has just been fine" for her and her husband, a corporate telecommunications specialist. With the two of them making \$50,000 a year, "I'm not a poor person" despite modest origins, she said, "and I'm not for the poor. I don't think we should support the poor. So I'm a Republican. I like Dukakis as a man. He's very convincing, but every time I see him, I think of Jesse Jackson by his side."

Although Illinois has gone Republican in every presidential race since 1964, Democrats should, in theory at least, have had a fighting chance here. Outside the Chicago metropolitan area, the state's manufacturing towns have been devastated with layoffs and plant closings, even though statewide official unemployment now stands at 6 percent. Farmers have suffered, too, although not always as badly as in many other parts of the Midwest. Even among Republicans, Bush is not popular downstate. The Republican outlying suburbs of Chicago have grown and fared well economically, but the city and inner suburbs have suffered severely in the Reagan years.

Mayor Washington's 1983 and 1987 electoral triumphs registered and mobilized

Can Dukakis break GOP's Illinois presidential lock?



many blacks, a potential boon to Dukakis if they are kept on the voter rolls and turned out on election day. But local political divisions have probably accelerated the steady drift of middle-income whites toward the Republicans in presidential politics.

Dukakis field operations director Leon Finney, former state chair of Jackson's campaign, claims that registration in the black wards is above the 1983 benchmark. But preliminary figures suggest the close-in suburbs have gained registered voters faster than the city proper. There has also been some aggressive Democratic voter registration downstate and in the remote suburbs. Suburban gains may not automatically benefit Republicans, since the immediate suburbs have become somewhat more blue-collar, black and Democratic over the past two decades.

The Country/Houby candidate: So far it appears that Bush, less than Dukakis, has foundered on internal contradictions of the campaign in Illinois. Bush, in open western shirt, recently bused through downstate

small towns appealing to traditional values and nativist anti-ethnic sentiment that

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Illinois has gone Republican in every presidential race since 1964. For Dukakis to break that streak, he will have to pull in both blacks and ethnic whites in Chicago.

helped two WASPish-sounding Lyndon LaRouche candidates defeat ethnic-sounding statewide party nominees in 1986. "Ah cain't even pronounce his name," country singer and Bush backer Loretta Lynn said of Dukakis. On his next visit Bush was at the Houby (Mushroom) parade in a traditionally Republican, Eastern European and anti-black blue-collar suburb appearing as a champion of those with unpronounceable names.

Gallup's polling for the *Los Angeles Times* suggests nationally that a few middle-class professionals have moved away from Bush as a result of his flag-waving, ACLU-bashing and anti-abortion agitation. But most upper middle-class Bush supporters with mildly tolerant values seem, out of economic self-interest, willing to ignore Bush's tirades on flags, crime and the evils of civil liberties.

The latest statewide polls show Dukakis and Bush virtually tied with a large bloc of undecided voters and half of voters soft in their commitment.

Part of Dukakis' problem is logistical: the campaign in Illinois is behind in nearly every facet of its operations. With favorite sons Sen. Paul Simon and Jesse Jackson dominating the Democratic primary, Dukakis got a weak start last spring. Since then, admits deputy chief of staff Doug Walker, it's been difficult getting organized because of "the bickering, the internal politics [of] different black factions, mayoral factions, the Cook County party and the state party." He added that even infighting over the gubernatorial election, still three years off, has had an effect.

The campaign is dividing turf into high-performance areas (two-thirds of which are black and Hispanic) and "persuasion" precincts. "There's a question of whether those high-performance groups will come out to vote at all," acknowledges Walker, "whether there's any excitement." But it's unfair to compare black feelings toward Jackson and Dukakis, Finney argues, adding that there's more black enthusiasm for Dukakis than there was for either Walter Mondale or Jimmy Carter.

The ethnic blue-collar and rural voters are the persuasion battleground, Walker acknowledges. "The Jackson message doesn't help with the swing voters." But Dukakis' caution since the convention has meant that the issue message for the swing voters has not been clearly defined, according to Illinois Public Action Council associate director John Cameron. Public Action's survey of its 150,000 largely middle-class contact households, 55 percent of whom are politically independent, shows strong support for such liberal policies as government action on health care and higher taxes on the rich. But Cameron argues that Dukakis' fear of being called a liberal prevents him from pushing issues that could win for him.

How Duke could do it: Interviews with voters and political organizers in Illinois suggested that Dukakis can win if he pushes a stronger message of identification with the needs of working-class voters and a tougher attack on Bush. Janice Raznieski, a 31-year-old postal worker, is one of the frustrated, hard-working young Americans Dukakis desperately needs on his side. Although not yet a registered voter, she leaned to Dukakis, but with no great enthusiasm. As her young son scampered about her in the Ford City

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This is the second in a two-part series examining the presidential candidates' environmental records. Part one, which looked at Michael Dukakis' policies in Massachusetts, ran in the August 3 issue of *In These Times*.

By Dick Russell

BOSTON

WHEN VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH sailed into Michael Dukakis' domain on September 1, accusing the Massachusetts governor of nothing but "delay, fight, anything but clean up...the dirtiest harbor in America," the vice president neglected to mention one salient fact. In a prior campaign appearance, Bush had stated that if elected president he would ax the funds from a federal program that helps pay for constructing the very waste treatment plants that reduce pollution in places such as Boston Harbor.

Such double-talk has been the rule ever since Bush declared himself an "environmentalist" last month and sought to steal the issue from Dukakis. On the surface, the rhetoric strikes some as convincing when Bush announces plans for a global conference on the environment or asserts that he has "zero tolerance" for polluting industries. Only lately has Dukakis struck back, noting in late September in California that Bush was "a charter member of the environmental wrecking crew that descended on Washington in 1981."

"Charter member" is putting it mildly. In fact the vice president has been the overseer of that "wrecking crew" since early 1981, when President Reagan named Bush chairman of the little-known White House Task Force on Regulatory Relief.

The task force's stated aim was to bring "cost-benefit analysis" to federal regulation. In the area of environmental regulation, the benefits of clean air and water would be pitted against the costs of such cleanup. Even before Reagan's 1981 inauguration, however, it became clear that the interests of one sector—big business—would supersede all others. In December 1980 two dozen industry lobbyists were invited to present the incoming administration with a shopping list of regulations they'd prefer to see wiped off the books. By March 1981 Bush had sent letters to business associations inviting them to nominate their least-liked federal regulations.

The system works: One of the task force's first recommendations was to give the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) veto power over any new environmental regulations. Executive Order 12291, issued in February 1981, did just that. It explicitly stated that the OMB was subject to direction by the task force, and directed the OMB to develop regulations that involved "the least cost to society." The agency was given carte blanche to delay indefinitely any proposed federal rules according to the whims of Bush's task force and big business.

Bush lawyer Boyden Gray described the task force setup to a Chamber of Commerce meeting in April 1981 this way: "If you go to the [regulatory] agency first, don't be too pessimistic if they can't solve the problem there. If they don't, that's what the task force is for....The system does work if you use it as a sort of appeal. You can act as a double-check on the agency that you might encounter problems with."

Scores of industry appeals for special treatment were indeed fielded by the task force, with Bush personally intervening on

The tainted dirt on Bush: he's no environmentalist

occasion. Singled out for particular attention were the following environmental laws:

- **Lead in Gasoline:** At the request of small refiners, Bush's task force disregarded environmental studies indicating that lead in gasoline was responsible for 90 percent of lead in the air—and that one-fifth of urban children had dangerous lead levels in their blood. It directed the Environmental Protec-

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tion Agency (EPA) to make permanent a temporary loophole that held off a phasedown in the amount of lead allowed in gasoline. Between May 1981 and March 1982 the EPA held 32 meetings with representatives of the refining and lead industry on the standard (and no meetings with environmentalists). During this period, then-EPA Administrator Anne Gorsuch Burford granted a verbal waiver to one refiner on grounds that the regulations "would probably be revised or perhaps even abolished...in accordance with Vice President Bush's expressed intentions." Later in 1982, after the media discovered that the EPA had instituted a de facto non-enforcement of the lead rule before review had been conducted, public pressure increased.

Finally, after the Centers for Disease Control said that a link between the gasoline lead levels and unsafe blood levels in children was undeniable, the EPA was forced that year to pressure the task force to reverse course. Yet in the end the EPA issued a final rule only slightly stricter than the old one. Years later the agency is still postponing its stated intention to eliminate all lead from gasoline by the end of this year.

- **Hazardous Waste Disposal:** In 1981, just as a 1976 mandate by Congress was about to be implemented governing the generation, handling and disposal of hazardous wastes, EPA Administrator Burford agreed to suspend the regulations—at the urging of Bush's task force—until a cost analysis could be prepared. Two years later a federal appeals court allowed the EPA six months to make the study and ordered the program implemented. But subsequent cuts in the EPA's annual budgets ensured that hazardous waste disposal remains a burgeoning national problem.

- **Pretreatment of Chemicals:** The 1972 Clean Water Act directed the EPA to require companies to pretreat toxic chemicals such as mercury, lead and cadmium before dumping them into sewage systems. A few days before the mandate was about to be implemented in 1981, the Chemical Manufacturers Association (CMA), a trade organization, approached the Bush task force. The CMA estimated the regulation would cost the chemical industry \$490 million annually—an amount it claimed was unacceptable. The task force recommended that the EPA suspend the regulation, and it obliged. Nearly 18 months passed before a federal appeals court upheld a lawsuit by the Natural



Vice President Bush

Resources Defense Council and ordered enforcement of the regulations.

- **The Clean Air Act:** During Reagan's first term, Bush lawyer Gray lobbied Congress diligently on behalf of the administration, which wanted a radically watered-down Clean Air Act. Although that effort was eventually unsuccessful, the Bush task force did succeed, at the auto industry's request, in getting a two-year delay of the diesel particulate standard for passenger cars and light-duty trucks; a year's delay in implementing 1984 hydrocarbon and carbon monoxide emission standards for heavy-duty trucks; and a hold-off in setting limits on nitrogen oxide emissions for post-1984 model year engines.

- **The Hazard Communications Standard:** One of the task force's first acts was to cancel the Occupational Safety and Health Administration's (OSHA) proposed hazard communications standard requiring employers to label dangerous materials and provide workers with protective information. In 1985 and 1987 a federal appeals court ordered OSHA to implement the standard.

Bush was chairman of the little-known White House Task Force on Regulatory Relief. The group's job was to bring "cost-benefit analysis" to federal regulation—and it often wound up providing "relief" to corporate polluters.

But OSHA and OMB continued holding hearings and conducting studies, prompting a 1988 lawsuit by the AFL-CIO and Steelworkers Union seeking contempt citations against both agencies. The standard was finally established this past summer.

- **Worker Exposure Testing:** Throughout Reagan's tenure the OMB has refused to approve cost-benefit studies sought by OSHA for regulation of asbestos exposure; rejected a project to study links between dioxin, birth defects and cancer by the National Institute for Occupational Safety; and made major cuts in a research project on MBOCA, a suspected cancer-causing agent to which 33,000 American workers have allegedly been exposed.

As OMB cut back these studies, work-related illnesses and injuries rose dramatically. The federal Bureau of Labor Statistics reported an 11.7 percent increase in 1984—the largest since such data-keeping began in 1972. The National Safe Workplace Institute estimates that at least 9,000 workplace fatalities have resulted from the Reagan administration's go-light-on-big-business policies.

Setting the agenda: In 1983, in the wake of the EPA scandal that forced the agency's Burford and Rita Lavelle to resign, Bush temporarily disbanded his task force in anticipation of the coming presidential election. But he quietly reconstituted it in 1986. As recently as last March, according to a memo by Michael Baroody, the Department of Labor's assistant secretary for policy, Bush was pressuring OSHA to further relax regulations. These included a rollback of rules on cancer-causing compounds and a second proposal—which OSHA opposed—to allow companies to issue respirators instead of making engineering changes to lessen worker exposure to airborne toxins. According to Baroody, in "the remaining months of this administration," the task force wanted to "help set the regulatory agenda for the next administration."

Admittedly, most of the actions described above took place during the Reagan administration's first term. Bush backers argue that the vice president has changed his position in the face of the growing environmental crisis. Last spring the Bush campaign made the rounds of the leading environmental groups in Washington, seeking a list of the 10 most important ecological concerns facing the next administration. Soon after that, Bush delivered a rousing speech in Seattle calling for action on groundwater, acid rain, clean air, toxic and solid wastes, the ozone layer and outdoor recreation.

Still, Bush has made many ambiguous statements during his presidential campaign. In May he said he favored drilling for oil off the northern California coast, then in June he opined that oil drilling should be deferred for an indefinite period. Bush began his primary campaign with a proposal to trim the national deficit by eliminating \$9 billion from the clean water and highway bills Congress approved last year. Then last summer, without retracting his previous statement, Bush started talking tough about the need for clean water.

William Drayton, former assistant EPA administrator during the Carter administration, recently told the *Boston Globe*: "It is the height of hypocrisy for Bush to hold himself up as a friend of the environment. Granted that campaign rhetoric will produce a certain level of exaggeration. But this is an attempt to rewrite history."

Dick Russell writes on environmental issues for *In These Times*.

By Salim Muwakkil

GAUGING BY MEDIA COVERAGE, THE STORY of black America in 1988 was spelled out by the names Tawana Brawley and Jesse Jackson. The inordinate focus on those two figures diverted attention from more crucial black concerns and provided additional evidence of the media's racial insensitivity. But, more significantly, it also revealed the extent of black leadership's ideological drift during the post-civil rights movement era.

Brawley's tale (see *In These Times*, July 6) seemed to be a racist nightmare come true. The black teenager's alleged abduction and rape by a gang of white men in upstate

BLACK AMERICA

New York triggered fears and fury in black communities nationwide. And in New York City, where other incidents of racial violence had already provoked angry demonstrations, Brawley's charges fueled an extremely explosive situation. The resulting turmoil drove another wedge between the city's traditional black leadership and its constituents; when racial fears rise, blacks seek more militant voices.

Unfortunately, some of those voices emerged from disreputable sources. By seizing the hysteria of the moment, Rev. Al Sharpton and attorneys Alton Maddox and Vernon Mason—Brawley's "advisers"—have vaulted into the national limelight. They've attracted significant support, especially from younger blacks, by denouncing traditional black leadership as impotent "rent-a-toms" and by staging raucous demonstrations. And despite the inconsistencies in the case—it now seems that the girl's story was contrived—the three men have managed to gain a peculiar kind of credibility.

Brawley's buffoons: The gang rape of a black teenager may be news, but the possibility the incident may be a hoax, perpetrated by obnoxious black agitators, is bigger news. Thus Brawley's advisers and the media entered into a symbiotic relationship: the media has an eager cast of black buffoons on call, and the advisers get coverage. But for many blacks in New York City and elsewhere, Brawley's supporters are not buf-

Black community caught in ideological whirlpool



Brawley and Alton Maddox: Brawley's advisers have a symbiotic relationship with the media.

foons.

"Although many of their methods are contemptible and disingenuous, they (Sharpton, Maddox and Mason) must be striking a resonant cord in the black community," conceded Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins, New York City's highest-ranking black official. Dinkins said that leaders who are more responsible must also become more responsive to the problems afflicting a growing number of black Americans. "If we don't, we can expect the solutions of the demagogues to become more attractive."

Dinkins' advice lies at the heart of the black community's current crisis of leadership. There is a growing perception that traditional black leadership continues to focus on outdated strategies, while the afflictions of the inner city multiply. The quest for equal access and integration that forms the philosophical core of the civil rights movement has benefited some blacks. But those millions of African-Americans who've been crippled by their economic vulnerability and this society's process of racial devaluation have received little benefit.

The three major civil rights groups change strategies in wake of criticism

At their summer conventions the three major civil rights groups—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Urban League (NUL) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)—all shifted their focuses to deal more effectively with issues like drug abuse, teenage pregnancy and crime. It's clear they've been listening to the criticism of their tactics.

The NUL launched a program designed to "uphold values, high expectations and motivation." Entitled "Crime is Not a Part of Our Black Heritage," the program, according to NUL president John Jacob, is "one of many efforts to motivate community institutions to create a sense of culture, an appreciation of history and a re-dedication to the values that have meant black survival."

Joseph Lowery, president of the SCLC, introduced a program called "Liberation Lifestyles." He said the program will emphasize a values transformation "that can

make us 'free at last' from confused priorities, low self-esteem and dependency on drugs and alcohol. And more so, free to turn to each other by supporting black institutions, businesses and organizations." Lowery said, "We must not fall victim to assault from without by our fault within."

While the SCLC places its greatest emphasis on the new program direction, the group has not forsaken its civil rights mission. According to Lowery, "Liberation Lifestyles" also means organizing to effect public policy that promotes full employment with adequate wages, education, housing and health care...."

The NAACP's Benjamin Hooks is the most reluctant of the three leaders to concede that contemporary conditions demand a major change of tactics. What's more, he is ever eager to cite the social changes wrought by civil rights strategies. "There are now one million black youngsters in post-secondary education, a number undreamed of in earlier

times," Hooks said. "For those young people, we must make sure that all civil rights laws are strongly enforced—the right [of] access to open housing, to jobs, to upward mobility."

Hooks is justified in clarifying the historical context of the current strategy debate. For just as the conditions for many blacks are deteriorating, things are looking better for many others. More black families have incomes over \$25,000 than ever before, more blacks than ever are graduating from high schools, blacks hold more political offices than ever before and the number of black-owned corporations is the most in history.

"The need for adherence to traditional civil rights action remains as vital as ever," Hooks said, "but for many in our society, something extra is needed. No need seems more urgent than the recapture and restoration of old and cherished values—decency, morality, hard work and education—by which the majority of black Americans once directed their lives." —S.M.

The statistics are well-documented and depressing. Rates of youth unemployment, incarceration, murder, crack addiction, gang warfare, premature parenthood, single-parent families and AIDS infection are all at their highest levels in history. One-half of all black children are born into poverty, and the economic earning gap between blacks and whites is at its widest point in the history of the measurement.

A 1987 Census Bureau report warned that "a large number of blacks are falling out of the mainstream of our economic life and may

The media's obsession with the Tawana Brawley and Jesse Jackson phenomena has taken the spotlight away from concerns that are more crucial to blacks.

never find a way back in." An NAACP suit to desegregate Yonkers, N.Y., (see *In These Times*, Sept. 21) means little to these people. But they're the ones applauding Sharpton's shrill denunciations of a system permeated by intractable racism.

Jesse's diversion: Unaccountably, many of these same economic dropouts were energized by Jackson's two presidential bids. Although he is an archetypal example of traditional leadership, and a participant in the obscure game of electoral politics, Jackson somehow attracts blacks who usually dismiss both of those spheres of public life. In fact, no political figure in history—besides Abraham Lincoln—has come close to equaling Jackson's overwhelming popularity in black communities across the country. And while this is an accomplishment worthy of pride, it is also an indication of blacks' continued vulnerability. The need for messianic leadership is a need born of powerlessness.

The rate of black poverty rose along with Jackson's vote totals. Jackson's increased visibility exposed more youths to his alliterative, purportedly therapeutic, bromides, but inner-city kids continued to shoot dope, instead of hope, into their veins. It may be unfair to expect change to follow miraculously in Jackson's wake, but it is he who encourages those expectations. Seldom does black leadership hold him accountable.

Jackson's first presidential run was opposed by many established black leaders because he audaciously set his own course. Yet that audacity proved to be a welcome shot in the arm for the black community. Black leaders eagerly climbed on board his second campaign and have been riding the bandwagon ever since. Jackson's coattails provided vicarious credibility for many of these leaders, and their lack of ideas was camouflaged by the euphoria of political pioneering.

Integration's costs: Many analysts have argued that black leaders' exclusive reliance on the integrationist tactics of the civil rights movement have exacerbated the problems of mostly urban, black America. In his widely cited book titled *The Truly Disadvantaged*, William J. Wilson argues that desegregation policies enacted in the '60s accelerated the increased social isolation of poor blacks.

"The social transformation of the inner city has resulted in a disproportionate concentration of the most disadvantaged seg-

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AS IN THESE TIMES WENT TO PRESS, NOBODY else did. Which is to say that the mainstream media remains supremely skeptical about reports in this publication that the Reagan-Bush campaign allegedly cut a deal with Iran in 1980—not to bring the 52 American hostages home, but to keep them in Tehran to ensure Jimmy Carter's election defeat.

Like virtually all of the nation's major dailies, the *Washington Post* has not comprehensively examined the purported deal on its news pages. On October 9, however, the *Post* did publish an op-ed piece by *London Sunday Times* correspondent Mark Hosenball that characterized the alleged deal as "a rumor that just won't die."

Surprise, surprise: Hosenball's article, titled "If It's October...Then It's Time for an Iranian Conspiracy Theory," concluded that evidence of the alleged 1980 deal is "too shaky to be taken seriously." But it's clear that Hosenball himself didn't take the evidence seriously from the start: he appears to have selected only those facts that suited his theory and ignored ones that didn't. The result is a cursory dismissal of a story that deserves a much more in-depth investigation. Consider the following examples.

- Many unanswered questions surrounding the alleged deal concern a documented meeting in the fall of 1980 among Reagan campaign aides—Robert McFarlane, Richard Allen and Laurence Silberman—and a man who reportedly said he was representing the Iranian government. The three Americans have since suffered a case of group amnesia about the details of the meeting—even forgetting the name of the man they met with. To get to the bottom of the episode, Hosenball went to McFarlane, who told him "nothing happened."

But Hosenball did not point out that McFarlane is hardly a reliable source. Not only could he face possible criminal prosecution by admitting to the alleged deal, but he is also a self-confessed liar on such matters. In the Iran-contra scandal, for instance, he told Congress he had not solicited money from other countries for the contras. In fact, he had. He later explained his false congressional testimony in this way: "I was trying to use some tortured language—inappropriately I think."

Perhaps "nothing happened" was also "tortured language."

- Other circumstantial evidence about the alleged 1980 deal comes from the suspicious timing of arms shipments to Iran. The Carter White House had embargoed arms to the Khomeini government in late 1979—and asked U.S. allies to do the same (see *In These Times*, October 12). But soon after Ronald Reagan took office, Israeli arms flowed to Iran—with the approval of Reagan administration officials.

Hosenball failed to mention this Reagan administration approval when he wrote that there was no "corroborating evidence" linking Israeli arms flow to an alleged deal. He then pointed to a book by Michael Ledeen. In it Ledeen maintains "that following the hostage crisis, the Israelis simply resumed what had been a consistent Israeli policy toward Iran."

Hosenball identified Ledeen as a "former (National Security Council) consultant"—by implication, an impartial expert. But Ledeen is far from impartial when it comes to Israel. In 1981 he founded the Jewish Institute for National Security, a Washington-based

Post takes aim at 1980 story, but misses mark



group that lobbies for Israeli defense interests. Furthermore, in 1985 it was Ledeen who came up with the idea of sending Israeli arms to Iran in an effort to better U.S.-Iranian relations—an idea that led to the Iran-contra scandal. As an active participant in U.S.-Israeli-Iranian arms dealings, his motivations are, to say the least, questionable.

- One controversial allegation made by some individuals connected with the 1980 investigation is that Vice President Bush attended a meeting in Paris with Iranian representatives in October 1980. It is important to note, however, that none of the publications that have printed in-depth probes of the alleged deal—*In These Times*, *Playboy* and the West German newsmagazine *Der*

Spiegel—has given these allegations about Bush more than passing mention. Nonetheless, Hosenball refuted the allegations about Bush at some length. And his story demonstrated that he did not bother to investigate fully what it was that he was refuting.

For example, he reported that arms dealer Richard Brenneke "testified to U.S. District Judge Jim R. Carrigan last month that he was present at a meeting in Paris with George Bush, William Casey, other Reagan aides and representatives of Iran." But in fact, Brenneke did not name Bush as one of those who participated in the meeting that he attended (see *In These Times*, October 12). Brenneke only offered hearsay—he reported that his friend, pilot Heinrich Rupp, had told him that

he had seen Bush on the tarmac at a Paris airport on Oct. 19, 1980.

Brenneke's 67-page deposition was readily available to reporters like Hosenball. But he apparently based his information on an article in the *Rocky Mountain News*—a story that contained incorrect information.

- Brenneke, the major source of an October 12 report by *In These Times*, is a controversial figure in Washington, and Hosenball rightly examines his credibility. To that end, Hosenball repeated a CIA assertion that Brenneke's claims of past employment with the agency are false. But the CIA's public denial of affiliation with the arms dealer was based on a document that the agency said it received from the *Portland Oregonian* newspaper. The *Oregonian*, however, denied ever having the document or supplying it to the CIA. (For more information on this controversy, see "Going to the source: the debate over Richard Brenneke's credibility" in the October 12 *In These Times*.) Hosenball apparently never questioned the CIA denial's legitimacy.

- In his conclusion Hosenball wrote: "Frank Askin, a Rutgers professor who is a part-time adviser to a House Judiciary subcommittee headed by Rep. John Conyers (D-MI), said that he had examined the allegations but that a full-scale congressional investigation presently appeared unlikely."

Readers might interpret this to mean that Askin did not find sufficient evidence to warrant an investigation, but that is not the case. "I have suggested [an investigation]," Askin subsequently told *In These Times*. "I have talked to other committee staff members, and nobody really thought there was any legislative jurisdiction—particularly on an issue that as soon as anybody touched it somebody would scream 'politics.'"

"My personal opinion? Things were going on in high places," he continued. "I think there is a significant amount of circumstantial evidence that indicates some representatives of the Reagan-Bush 1980 campaign were having secret negotiations with Iranian officials regarding the hostages. What the outcome of those negotiations was is very hard to determine. You can jump to conclusions based on subsequent events like the arms that started flowing to Iran in the early '80s. You have to piece a lot of things together. But for those people who want smoking guns, there are no smoking guns."

Askin concluded: "I think there is enough circumstantial evidence and [the alleged deal] is so important that it is certainly worthy of investigation. Who should do that investigation? At least the historians and journalists."

News that doesn't fit: While many major newspapers have told *In These Times* that they are aware of the alleged deal, none has opted to pursue the allegations in print. And after Hosenball's article in the influential *Washington Post*, even fewer may be willing to join the ranks of what he called the "rumor mongers," "conspiracy theorists" and "afficionados of intrigue."

Hosenball may in the end be correct: the alleged 1980 deal may prove to be a series of historical coincidences, or it may prove to be a complex disinformation scheme hatched by people like Brenneke.

But for now Hosenball's arguments that the Reagan-Bush campaign did not conspire with Iran in 1980 are dwarfed by evidence suggesting it did. The holes in his superficial investigation of the alleged deal only point out the need for more serious probes by news organs like the *Washington Post*. □

On October 9 the *Post* published a piece by *London Sunday Times* correspondent Mark Hosenball that characterized the deal as "a rumor that just won't die." He selected only those facts that suited his theory and ignored those that didn't.

Illinois

Continued from page 6

shopping center on Chicago's southwest side, she talked of her concern about the environment, frustrations with "Republican" cuts in benefits at the postal service and difficulties finding good child care. She also worried about how she would end up in old age, noting that her grandmother was recently shifted to an inadequate nursing home.

"A friend of mine in Canada was shocked when he heard we have to pay for every doctor visit," she said. "They can do it [provide health care for everyone]. Why can't we?"

Times have been tough for Raznieski and her husband, a construction project planner, especially when she quit her job to have her son. "Personally our situation is terrible," she said. "We were so in debt. We just cut out all our charge cards. I always said I'd never work while I had kids. But here I am."

"We don't have a house yet, and I can't see us getting one for years," she continued. "I had wanted five children, and here I can barely afford one. I'll probably end up with two children and no house of my own. To me, the economy hasn't been very good lately." Yet this made-for-Dukakis voter is not in the bag—due to lack of both excitement and understanding how Dukakis might better serve her needs than Bush.

Mary Demchuk, an "over 50" short-order cook from the blue-collar suburb of Chicago Ridge, is a swing voter who backed Reagan in 1984 ("everyone is entitled to a mistake," she explained). "I think it's time for a Democratic president," she said. "I think they're

more concerned with the needs of the people... I think [Dukakis] is a common man's president. His little comment about his 25-year-old snowblower in his garage helped. I can appreciate that. Bush is financially set, and he's too wishy-washy. He should have put his foot down on the whole arms deal to Iran, and of course, having Quayle, a bad choice, added fuel to the fire."

But Fernando and Marivel Frias, both second-generation Mexican-Americans whose families are intensely Democratic, will probably either not vote or go for Bush. The young couple—he's a real estate salesman, she's an airline worker finishing a manage-

Even made-for-Dukakis voters are not sure bets. For example, farmers may be turned off by Bush, but Dukakis isn't winning them over.

ment course—are uninformed and uninterested in politics. But they believe they're doing all right financially and fear change. They said they might have been interested in a candidate stressing college aid, but then they dismissed the prospect. It wouldn't do them any good, since Marivel soon graduates. Bush clearly benefits from the growth and legitimacy of rampant selfishness.

Defensive on defense: Esther Patt, a tenant union director and Dukakis partisan in Champaign-Urbana, twin downstate uni-

versity towns, found people surprisingly undecided because "on issues where there is a clear difference between the candidates, voters still don't know how the candidates stand." For example, cutting spending for Star Wars was a top priority for one undecided voter, she said, but he didn't identify Dukakis with that position.

In western Illinois, Phil Hare, district coordinator for populist Democratic Rep. Lane Evans, said many farmers "are turned off to Bush, but Dukakis isn't winning them over. [Dukakis] needs to talk to people on their level, tell them who he is, talk about education, health care and his plans to get the country going. I don't find support for heavy-duty weapons systems in the district. People are fed up with spending billions on weapons that don't work." But scared of being labeled soft on defense, Dukakis has so far failed to capitalize on those widespread sentiments against open-checkbook military spending.

The vacuousness of the Dukakis campaign not only gives swing voters little reason to swing toward him but also does little to inspire the faithful. "At first he was kind of dull," observed Velma Maxwell, a retired packinghouse worker and Jackson backer who was at the Regal rally. "Now he's really into the fight. Now he's stronger. I like him better. He's coming on to what working people need. This nation is in need of good health care. I want to get people off public aid and get them jobs, get these homeless people out of the doorways and give them jobs. I want the candidate to talk about that."

Dukakis' appearance at that black rally helped to erase a growing feeling of neglect, argued Tony Shaw, a 30-year-old black owner of his own business. But "he'll have to do more to get black people out to vote," Shaw said. "The circles I run in, I couldn't get people to come today. There's a lot of feeling it won't make any difference whoever gets in."

The *Wall Street Journal* recently mocked the wealthy Massachusetts governor for including himself with his black or working-class audiences as "the rest of us" as opposed to the rich beneficiaries of the Reagan-Bush years. But voters are less interested in the personal finances and more in the policies, the style and the sense of personal understanding a candidate uses to demonstrate he is part of "the rest of us." Dukakis falls short of that mark in all ways. But in substance he's still way ahead of—although in campaign gimmickry behind—Bush in the battle for Illinois' crucial 24 electoral votes. ☐

Black leaders

Continued from page 8

ments of the urban black population creating a social milieu significantly different from the environment that existed in these communities several decades ago," Wilson wrote. This conclusion has been strongly seconded by several analysts. And, although few of them suggest re-segregation as an answer, the implications of their findings have not escaped those who condemn all integrationist strategies as inimical to the good of the black community.

Robert Woodson, president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, has edited a compilation of essays, titled *On the Road to Economic Freedom: An Agenda for Black Progress*, that faults the civil rights fraternity for the continuing deterioration of black inner-city neighborhoods. In an essay he contributed to the collection, Woodson argued that "those who purport to serve the black poor must be held accountable and must offer realistic programs that inspire self-help to alleviate the conditions of the underclass. The ultimate goal, after all, is economic independence and self-sufficiency."

The other strain: Most of the essays make similar arguments about the need for aggressive self-help strategies to replace what many contributors contend are the outdated strategies of traditional black leadership. These arguments make the case for the other major strain of the African-American struggle for racial justice: separatism/nationalism. The integrationist, or civil rights, strain has been ascendant since the anti-Depression policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt lured blacks away from their virtually unanimous support of the Republican Party.

"It is to make a mockery of the ideal of freedom to hold that, as free men and women, blacks must nonetheless sit back and wait for white America, of whatever political persuasion, to come to their rescue," wrote contributor Glenn Loury, a black economist at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

In content and emphasis, many of these arguments recapitulate the conservative logic that has become such a hit during the Reagan era; notions of values, character development and the work ethic are central to many of the essays. However, they also echo the self-help philosophies of leaders like Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X.

Those ideas are gaining in popularity as black Americans, chastened by the reign of Ronald Reagan, seek more effective methods to halt the accelerating deterioration of their communities. The electoral adventure of Jesse Jackson was good for a thrill and a spot in the history books, but the Democratic Party's continued aversion to significant black input has once again reminded them of the need for independent political strategies.

New York City's black leadership, once regarded as the vanguard of the new black movement but now fractured in the wake of the Brawley imbroglio, has regrouped around the spurious issue of what some have termed "mercantile imperialism." It is an attempt to bring clarity to the phenomenon of immigrant merchants gaining increased control of the black community's commercial activity. So far, however, the issue seems only to have provoked an anti-Asian racism (see *In These Times*, Oct. 5) that is a dead end than was a previous campaign to defend Rev. Sharpton's integrity. ☐

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By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

POISON GAS HAS A BAD IMAGE. NATIONAL leaders who want to build up stocks of chemical weapons need to venture into the field masked.

That is what Presidents Reagan and Mitterrand seemed to be doing with their September speeches to the United Nations General Assembly, stressing their earnest desire to rid the world of chemical weapons.

Certainly, neither Ronald Reagan nor François Mitterrand can have any particular affection for nerve gas. No matter how you look at it, it is not likeable stuff. However, they preside over the two governments that have taken the lead in reviving production of chemical weapons and in blocking international negotiations to end their fabrication.

In 1983, with the helpful tie-breaking vote of Vice President George Bush in the Senate, the Reagan administration resumed the chemical arms race. Production of the "new generation" of binary weapons was begun last December. The 1982 U.S. Army doctrine AirLand Battle calls for them to be projected onto the modern electronic battlefield by missiles.

Meanwhile, at the 40-nation disarmament negotiations in Geneva, talks were underway on a new treaty that would go beyond the 1925 Geneva Protocol's ban on using chemical weapons, and fix a ban on manufacture and stockage. The old U.S. excuse for not concluding a ban, namely that the Soviet Union would not allow verification, collapsed. Soviet negotiators not only accepted verification but went on to propose a control system using permanent teams of international inspectors to check destruction of chemical weapon stocks and inspect factories producing hypertoxic substances. A year ago the Soviets invited more than 100 experts from the Geneva conference to visit a new factory on the Volga devoted to destroying the Soviet chemical arsenal. U.S. negotiators were harder and harder put to find reasons to reject Soviet overtures.

America's oldest ally, France, came to the rescue. In late 1986 a new military programing law called for a French "deterrent" arsenal of chemical weapons, on the grounds that "France could not give up weapons other nations think they have the right to possess." France claimed a right to keep a "security stock" of chemical weapons in a secret place for 10 years while Superpower stocks were being destroyed. In French logic, every smaller country had the right to build up a "security stock" and hold it while waiting for the Superpowers to get rid of theirs. The French position was so obstructionist that U.S. negotiators could sit back and look reasonable.

Change in the air: Now suddenly, as if struck by a whiff of crocodile tear gas, Reagan and Mitterrand were practically bumping into each other in their rush to the international podium to deplore the spread of noxious fumes and appeal to the "civilized world" to stop it.

Before the U.N. General Assembly, Reagan called for an international conference to strengthen the 1925 Geneva protocol. Mitterrand followed, even offering to sacrifice the "security stock" for an eventual treaty banning chemical weapons production. At Reagan's suggestion, the conference will be

Chemical weapons fear helps fill threat deficit

in Paris.

French spokesmen explained that Mitterrand was inaugurating a new era of disarmament in French policy. French media sent out the good news.

EUROPE

Serious experienced observers were deeply skeptical. There are indeed more reasons to be skeptical than not.

The Franco-American move away from obstructing the Geneva negotiations toward sponsoring a new Paris conference seems dictated above all by the necessities of threat shift. Threat shift is a main ideological task of the Western alliance in the late '80s. The Soviet threat is fading as fast as the Cheshire cat, leaving only Gorbachov's winning smile. Obviously, Western military establishments cannot get along without a threat. So they are having to upgrade, rapidly, the spare threat: the threat from the Third World. The chemical weapons hoopla is a prime instance of threat shift.

Only last year, French diplomats were justifying their intransigence by the Soviet threat. In February 1987, Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond told the Geneva conference that France would not accept any moratorium on chemical weapons. A production ban "might mean total chemical disarmament for small holders while those retaining big stocks would go on having a major capacity until the end of the process," he said, defending the little guy.

Small isn't beautiful: Suddenly, the tune has changed. The little guy is the danger. The problem is proliferation in the Third World. Word is leaked to the semi-official media: Libya has chemical weapons.

This is not exactly new. Nearly 10 years ago, in preparation for the binary buildup, the U.S. began touting an imaginary yellow peril dubbed "yellow rain." Brandishing a contaminated leaf described by Richard Burt as a "smoking gun," the Reagan administration accused Vietnam and the Soviet Union of using chemical weapons. While Vietnamese continued to die of the aftereffects of massive U.S. use of Agent Orange in Indochina, and Harvard biologist Matthew Meselson and Canadian investigators disproved the "yellow rain" fiction, U.S. officials went on accusing the Soviet Union of "flagrant violation" of the 1925 Geneva protocol.

Just as the "yellow rain" story was being refuted, Iraq began using chemical weapons against Iran in a big way. This was indeed a "flagrant violation," but the visibly gassed corpses of Iranian soldiers or of the Kurdish village men, women and children have never excited U.S. officials as much as one Laotian leaf.

Starting in 1983, the Iraqis systematically used chemicals both defensively and offensively against Iran. Last March, Iraq wiped out civilians in the Kurdish town of Halabja after it fell to Iranian forces. An August report by United Nations experts accused Iraq of "intense and frequent" use of chemical weapons in the Gulf War. Iraq used gas sys-



tematically to prepare breakthroughs in the last big offensives against Iran. "This can be one of the main reasons for the drastically reduced fighting morale of the Iranians last spring," the specialized weapons journal *Europäische Wehrkunde* suggested, concluding that the example is likely to be contagious since "nothing is more convincing than success."

Smokescreen: Superficially, the speeches by Reagan and Mitterrand can appear to be moral reactions against the Iraqi use of chemical weapons. But this illusion vanishes on close inspection.

In his United Nations speech, Mitterrand suggested an arms embargo against any state using chemical weapons—just as France was secretly negotiating a big new arms contract with its No. 1 customer, Iraq. Two days later, in Washington, French Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement said France had no proof that Iraq had used poison gas against the Kurdish population.

The French government has no domestic opposition to worry about on the chemical weapons issue. However, complaints were coming from Germans.

Mitterrand seems to have sacrificed the "security stock" on the altar of the Franco-German partnership. The Germans do not relish being the potential battlefield for American, Soviet and French nerve gas, and have been pushing for a negotiated ban. The West German Social Democrats and East German leaders have already worked out a draft treaty for a chemical weapons-free zone in Central Europe that could be adopted—not only by the two Germanys, but by Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary as well, and perhaps Denmark and the Benelux countries—if the Social Democrats are returned to office in Bonn two years from now.

This is the sort of dread prospect Mitterrand wants to stave off by his new emphasis on "disarmament policy." The object is to "anchor Germany to the West"—to the Western arms buildup, that is.

Once Reagan turned from the Geneva negotiations to the idea of a conference, the danger of a negotiated ban on chemical weapons receded. There was no longer any reason for France to antagonize everybody by blocking an agreement that can't happen anyway.

Unopposed Iraqi use of poison gas has done the job of creating a Third World threat of proliferation that can effectively be cited to scuttle the proposed ban on chemical weapons production. Iraq's Western backers let Iraq get away with the crime, and now say that the fact that Iraq got away with it proves that chemical proliferation cannot be stopped by treaty.

The brass wants the gas: What then is the proposed conference all about? This remains to be seen, but the first thing it does is to shift attention from negotiations for a total ban to "stopping proliferation." This can mean simply that the major industrial powers want to maintain control of the flow of chemical weaponry to Third World clients.

Since 1985, experts from 19 Western nations have been meeting secretly at the Australian Embassy in Paris to study ways to restrict the export of chemical arms components. The object of this "Australian group" is not to ban chemical weapons, but to check their proliferation. An international conference may be asked to adopt devices they have worked out.

Pressure for chemical weapons development and production comes from the chemical industry, an extremely powerful lobby in every country, which does not want to be left out when subsidies are passed around in the form of arms contracts. On verification, U.S. negotiators maintain a double standard between Soviet factories, which should be inspected because linked directly to the state, and American factories which are "private." Soviet willingness to exchange full inspection is blocked by the arrogant American argument that the Russians are just trying to spy on the wonderful achievements of private capitalism.

The industry's unwillingness to allow inspection is covered by the argument that inspection would be impossible. It would surely be difficult. But a good inspection system, combined with serious sanctions against violations, would at least stop massive official incorporation of chemical weapons into national arsenals. Since when has the impossibility of watertight prevention of crime been an excuse for having no laws?

Behind the shifting "threat" pretexts, the constant political factor explaining the Reagan administration's attachment to chemical weapons is that they are basically crowd pesticides. In an age of accentuating gaps in wealth and power, those on the top want to retain their capacity to liquidate the masses on the bottom. Whether lethal or merely disabling, most chemical weapons distinguish between military or police personnel wearing masks or other protection, and civilians. Those that don't are too dangerous to use in any battle. Missiles will enable U.S. forces to use them to exterminate populations from a distance.

France may be tagging along because of its ambition to maintain its role as auxiliary police power in Africa and various islands.

The poor man, woman and child will be on the receiving end of the "poor man's weapon." □

GIVING KIDS a head sTart

By Joan Walsh

FEW FEDERAL ANTI-POVERTY PROJECTS survived the Reagan years like the Head Start program. While other War on Poverty veterans suffered post-'60s stress syndrome throughout the '80s, Head Start saw its budget steadily increase. Today the popularity of that '60s-era preschool program is helping push early childhood education to the top of an anti-poverty agenda for the '90s.

Since 1980, 18 states have sponsored new early childhood education initiatives. School districts from New York City to Chicago to Pasadena, Calif., are offering preschool primarily for low-income children. Eight states and the District of Columbia are adding to federal funds to expand the Head Start program. Educators, businesspeople and community leaders have come together in cities like Oakland and Minneapolis to lay out blueprints for expanding early childhood development programs for the poor.

In an era marked by cynicism about what government can do to fight poverty, the broad-based enthusiasm for publicly funded preschool is a welcome anomaly. Embraced by influential corporate leaders, the preschool push also represents tacit acknowledgement of the shortsightedness of harsh Reagan policies toward the poor. With a quarter of all children under six living in poverty, alarm about the nation's future workforce is pushing the private sector to seek a solution to the interconnected problems of childhood poverty, low school achievement and adult unemployment. Right now, early childhood programs are it.

"They're not an inoculation against poverty," warns Yale University professor Dr. Edward Zigler, a Head Start founder, with valid concern. But the effort to develop programs for poor children is almost as significant as the programs themselves, because it is inspiring new cooperation among groups that rarely come together. In the complicated politics of preschool, anti-poverty advocates, resisting the impulse to say "we told you so," are working alongside corporate executives to try to undo the damage wrought by Reagan's neglect of the poor.

Preschool gap: One force driving the preschool push is equity. Despite the well-known benefits of programs like Head Start, poor kids are much less likely to attend preschool than their middle-class peers, for whom it is the norm. Today 75 percent of three- and four-year-olds from families with incomes above \$25,000 go to preschool, compared with only 29 percent of those living in poverty. Parents who can afford it pay to give their children the "head start" on learning that a good preschool program can provide; parents who can't must rely on inadequate public subsidies. Many advocates argue that the "preschool gap" between poor and middle-class kids is undermining the nation's commitment to universal public education.

Ironically, while middle-class kids surely get some benefits from preschool, researchers have found no lasting differ-



Preschoolers and a parent volunteer at the Hull House Uptown Head Start program in Chicago.

ences between those who attended preschool and those who didn't. Lasting benefits of preschool programs are visible only among the poor.

Put simply, preschool programs "work," in measurable ways, to reduce the chance that poor kids will spend their lives in poverty. Studies show that poor children who attended early childhood education programs do better in school, and in later life, than those without a preschool experience.

The Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, which produced the most thorough look at preschool's effects to date, analyzed 11 '60s-era preschool experiments and found that poor kids who attended preschool were much less likely to be left back a grade, to be placed in special education or to drop out of school, compared with their peers who didn't attend preschool.

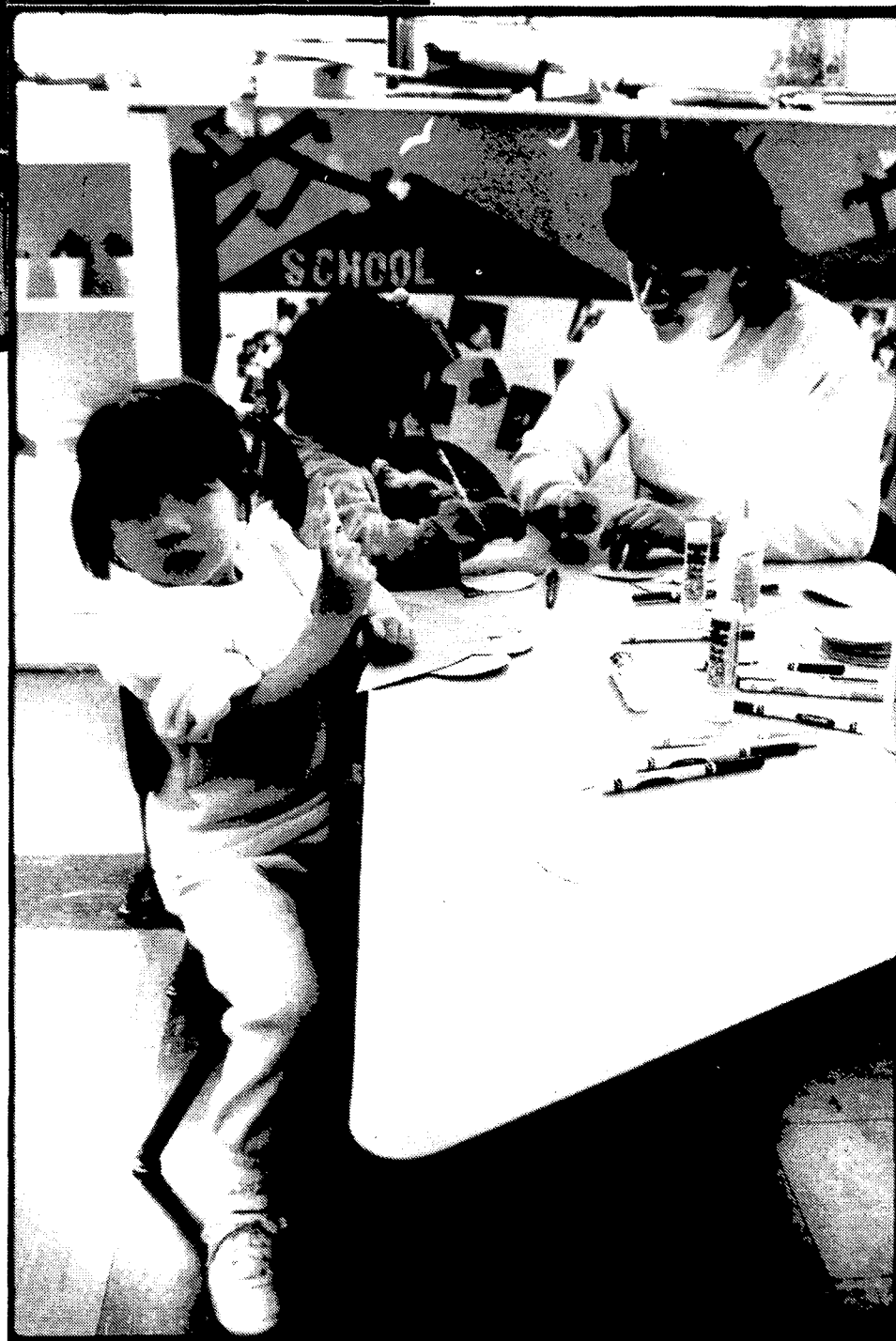
One of the programs, the nationally known Perry Preschool, found that at age 19 significantly fewer preschool graduates had committed a crime, become pregnant or turned to welfare than kids in a control group who didn't attend the program. Sponsors of the Perry Preschool experiment say the program saved between

\$4 and \$7 in social services for every \$1 invested.

Those rave reviews have been met with some skepticism, but little of the criticism sticks. Some have questioned the methods of the High/Scope Foundation, the Perry Preschool sponsors, in preparing its remarkable cost-benefit analysis. Others, like *Losing Control* author Charles Murray, don't challenge High/Scope's claims but dispute that the program could be duplicated on a national basis.

Yet a wide roster of programs, not just model efforts like Perry Preschool, have been shown to make a notable difference for low-income children. Head Start kids have also been found to do better in school than kids without Head Start experience, and studies have documented important benefits to their families. Pre-kindergarten programs in New York, Maryland and San Francisco have been shown to give kids significant school performance advantages. A New York Day Care Council study (its results have been replicated elsewhere) found that low-income kids in plain old licensed day-care programs outperformed children who had no such child-care experience until they reached the classroom.

Success breeds success: No one knows exactly why preschool works the way it does. It doesn't produce lasting gains in IQ and achievement test scores, as some Head Start pioneers had hoped. While Head Start graduates scored higher on such tests than kids without Head Start in the early grades, follow-up studies saw those differences fade in later years.



Paul Comstock

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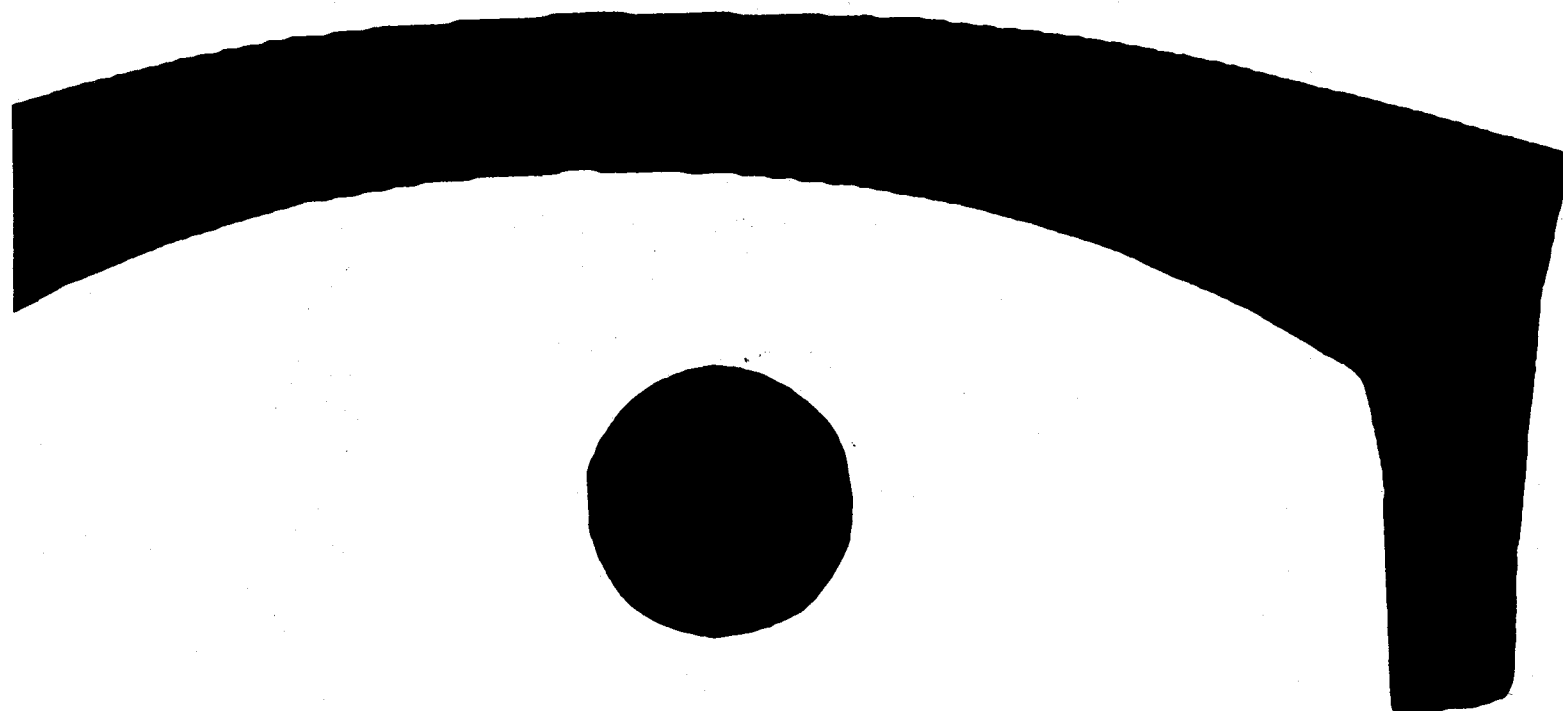
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Yet in the long run, Head Start and other preschool programs turn out to pay off in better school performance, even if it can't be measured by grades or test scores. Researchers speculate that the programs work because they provide poor kids with a more positive introduction to learning than they usually get in kindergarten, where high class sizes and low expectations are the norm for most low-income children.

The Consortium for Longitudinal Studies speculated that because preschool graduates entered school with "positive attitudes toward classroom activities and were able to learn and do the school work...[their] positive attitudes toward school were reinforced, they felt competent. In all probability, their teachers treated them as such. Once set in motion, success tended to breed success." In other words, kids may not be smarter or get better grades as a result of preschool, but they learn to like school, to meet basic course assignments and to persevere to graduation.

Not surprisingly, the best preschool programs of the past and present employ well-trained teachers. They all have low child-to-staff ratios, ensuring that children get sufficient guidance and attention from adults. While curricula vary, successful programs feature activities that indulge children's own initiatives and creativity rather than academic exercises rigidly controlled by teachers. Perhaps most important, programs that work involve parents in a significant way.

Head Start is the model for a family-focused program. Even conservatives like it, because it seeks not to replace parents as primary educators of their children, but to help them better fill that role. Head Start had a mandate to involve parents at every level, as staff members and volunteers and in determining local program goals.

According to a 1985 report to the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), that mandate has been met. Fully a third of Head Start staff are the parents of present or past Head Start students, and "many Head Start parents attribute improved employment and educational status and elevated personal aspirations to Head Start involvement," the HHS study found.

Cutting corners: Predictably, although there is a consensus about the key elements of a quality preschool program, many early childhood education programs try to cut corners and stretch scarce program dollars by skimping on those quality standards.

"It is senseless to cite evidence from exemplary, high-quality programs and then to enact a program with low spending, low ratios, low salaries and inadequate teacher preparation," says University of California-Berkeley economist W. Norton Grubb. Yet that's exactly what many states and school districts are doing. Texas, which sponsors pre-kindergarten programs for poor and non-English-speaking four-year-olds, allows ratios of one teacher for 22 children—more than twice the ratio recommended by the National Association for the Education of Young Children, and far above the 1-to-6 ratio of the Perry Preschool program. New Jersey allows 25 four-year-olds per teacher, while Maine sets no limit.

Few programs require the intensive outreach to parents that Head Start and the model preschool experiments of the '60s did. Programs run by school districts come in for particular criticism, especially for blacks, for neglecting to involve parents. Minority children and parents, such critics note, are often poorly treated in existing public-school programs. School-based child development programs will become an "incubator for inequality," the National Black Child Development Institute warns, unless administrators are forced to involve parents in meaningful ways.

For children whose first language isn't English—a growing target of early childhood education efforts in California and Texas—there is real danger in programs that neglect parents, says bilingual education expert Lily Wong Fillmore. "There is a 'prestige differential' between the language kids use at home and English, which is taught in school. Learning English in preschool at age four can make kids reject their own language, and in doing so they reject, and feel rejected by, their families." Only a family-centered program that promotes parent leadership can help children handle the emotional complexities of preschool bilingualism, Fillmore contends.

In some families—those in which the long-term effects of poverty are manifested in parents' emotional problems, drug or alcohol addiction, child neglect or abuse—early childhood programs are useless unless they involve parents as fully as children. "There's no way that any program can substitute for parent-

ing," Stanford University child welfare expert Michael Wald told a forum on early childhood development in Oakland last April. "We have to work with parents to help them give their children what they need." Yet only a relative handful of programs across the country are providing troubled families with the array of parent support and child development services that make a difference.

Implementing effective preschool programs can also get tangled in disagreement about government's role in providing child care. Bowing to the right, Vice President George Bush has opposed direct public subsidies to child-care programs, because they are believed to "discriminate" against families with a stay-at-home mother. But Bush favors Head Start expansion, because the half-day preschool program isn't intended to provide child care for working parents.

Yet half-day programs such as Head Start, or New York City's landmark public school program for four-year-olds, may wind up serving a limited pool of poor children, because poor parents who work need full-day child-care services. Bank Street College researchers Fern Marx and Anne Mitchell, who surveyed the nation's early childhood education scene in a recent report, were alarmed by the lack of coordination between new preschool initiatives and efforts to expand child-care services, "especially given the current push to get welfare mothers to work," says Mitchell.

In other words, legislators are designing mandatory work programs for welfare mothers while implementing half-

day preschool programs for their kids, most of whom, once their mothers work, will need full-day child care. No wonder people don't like government.

Damage control: The politics of preschool is best worked out on a local, not national, level. In Oakland, Calif., an initiative to expand early childhood programs for poor families is being spearheaded by the Urban Strategies Council, a non-profit research and advocacy group established in 1987 to combat "persistent poverty." With a working group of local child development professionals and an advisory committee that includes elected officials, educators and community and business leaders, the group laid out a blueprint to expand and improve existing programs, using federal, state, city and private sector funds.

Its approach is frankly pluralistic, attempting to build on a wide range of programs, from Head Start and public school centers to family day-care homes and for-profit child-care centers. It recommends tailoring some programs to better serve the working poor, and others specially designed for those on welfare. The group's recommendations have spurred action by county welfare and school officials. Perhaps most important, the process has fostered collaboration among programs that share a mission to serve low-income families but, thanks to time constraints or turf battles, rarely coordinate their efforts.

Likewise in Minneapolis, city leaders troubled by rising poverty amid a service economy boom are developing a strategy

Continued on page 22

Expanding Head Start: a first step in education reform

While George Bush and Michael Dukakis clash on most domestic policy issues, both have pledged to substantially expand the Head Start program, which currently reaches only one in six eligible children. While he's at it, the next president could also modernize the venerable War on Poverty program to outfit it for the '90s.

Head Start is still the model for family-focused preschool education and parent support programs for the poor. Yet little effort has been made to formally link it to other anti-poverty programs. Federal initiatives to put welfare mothers to work and to expand child-care funding are moving forward in isolation from Head Start. So are most school reform efforts, even though national studies by the Carnegie Foundation and the Committee for Economic Development have called for Head Start expansion as a first step in education reform.

One way to update the program is to expand its traditional half-day program to provide full-day services. Working poor parents can benefit from Head Start's family support services as much as welfare parents, but few use it because their children need full-day care. Offering full-day services would also make Head Start more relevant to welfare reform efforts. Right now, children's needs are often lost in the frenzy to put welfare mothers to work, and most programs pay for only the cheapest possible child care—ignoring the fact that the

same children are eligible for enriched programs like Head Start.

A push to expand Head Start should also place greater emphasis on developing ties with school districts and other child-development programs. Federal researchers examining the relationship between Head Start and state and local preschool programs last year more than once heard the question, "Oh, is the Head Start pro-

gram still around?" Some programs compete with Head Start for children. Not surprisingly, the study found that coordination with local child-development programs and school districts improved Head Start's overall effectiveness.

Improved coordination might also improve Head Start outreach, a problem in some areas. Traditional outreach efforts, administrators say, aren't reaching a critical group of ever-younger single mothers, many of them teens. Outside social service networks, many mothers turn responsibility for their children over to their mothers or grandmothers, who aren't found through usual outreach channels.

Some of those problems might be solved by lowering the age at which children can enter Head Start, which is currently set at three. Parents are easiest to reach and most interested in child care and social services when their children are first born, research shows, but those who can't find help often fall through the safety net permanently.

Serving younger children would allow Head Start to reach teen mothers, who are essentially left out of the program today. Unable to find child care, many teen mothers leave school and wind up on welfare. Full-day Head Start that could serve infants would be an invaluable resource in efforts to help families headed by teens, who make up a growing proportion of the poor today. —J.W.



Hispanic day-care center in Washington, D.C.

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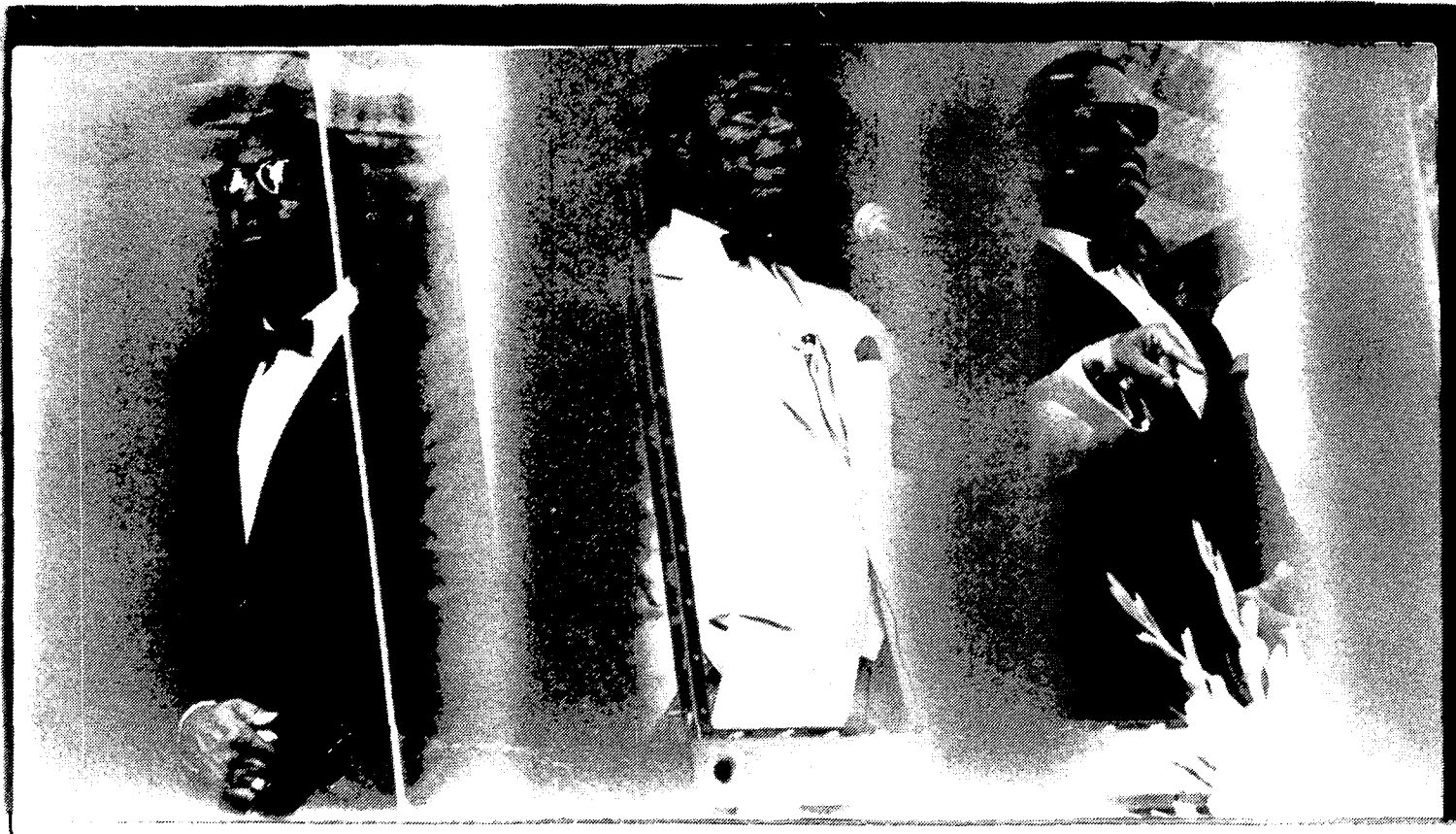
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Louis Farrakhan's (center) Nation of Islam is re-emerging as an influential voice in black America.

Farrakhan rides the wave of black anger

The day after a New York State grand jury concluded that Tawana Brawley had concocted her story of abduction and rape, she and her controversial trio of advisers arrived in Chicago to attend the Nation of Islam's (NOI) annual "Saviors' Day" convention as honored guests of NOI leader Louis Farrakhan. The Brawley phenomenon and Farrakhan's popularity are both potent symbols of our troubled racial times, and it seems entirely appropriate that they should find common cause.

However, the media's narrow focus on the links between Brawley and the Black Muslims missed the larger and more disturbing significance of Saviors' Day 1988: the re-emergence of the NOI as an influential voice in black America.

Nearly 20,000 people attended the event throughout its three-day duration, and it was staged on the grounds of an elegant mosque the NOI recently—and with much fanfare—reclaimed from a rival group. In attendance were several black elected officials, top members of various rights organizations and a few major recording artists and other assorted celebrities. In short, it was an impressive display of support for a group thought to have fallen out of favor. Despite this, the Chicago convention attracted only local coverage, and most of that focused on the Brawley connection.

The media chill may have been intended to cut the Brawley advisers' easy access to publicity. But by ignoring the NOI's growing popularity, the mainstream media allows us to ignore the conditions that fertilize that growth. Thus insulated from the rough-and-tumble realities of inner-city life and their disquieting implications for society as a whole, the anesthetized American public finds nothing odious in the mindless platitudes of presidential candidate George Bush.

The grim-faced black men who form the core of the Fruit of Islam, the NOI's paramilitary security force, are the same social misfits Bush implicates in his demagogic anti-crime tirades. These men, buffeted by severe economic shocks and social dislocations, may easily be dismissed by one of Bush's new and improved one-liners, but the men do not go away. Their seething presence shadows our entire national life and makes a mockery of the Pledge of Allegiance, which the vice president embraces so hypocritically.

Avoiding the issue: And as America turns away in dismay, disgust and sometimes—as in the case of subway vigilante Bernhard Goetz and his legions of sympathizers—in anger from the welter of complex issues that have transformed many inner-city neighborhoods into incubators of crime and pathology, the Nation of Islam stands ready to offer a simple explanation: whites in this country never were serious about achieving racial justice. "Leave the white man alone," Farrakhan exhorted his followers during his keynote speech at the event. "There may be some good whites, but we

haven't met too many, and we don't have time to search for them."

The Brawley case fits perfectly into this conception. Farrakhan blasted the grand jury's conclusions on the teenager, and with great rhetorical flourish threatened to "kill and dismember" the people she said abducted and raped her. The crowd erupted into explosive applause at each reference to violent retaliation. Sitting among them on Chicago's south side, it was easy to discern a widespread and pervasive anger. It's an anger than can be found in inner cities across the country, and it grows as prospects for progress get dimmer.

Mostly this anger is manifested in the so-called black-on-black crime and violence that have transformed too many city neighborhoods into virtual battle zones. The NOI has successfully reclaimed some of that turf. In Washington, D.C., for example, the NOI recently initiated a patrol program that has halted drug sales in two of the city's housing projects and won the praise of tenants and city officials alike. "On a scale of 1 to 10, I give them a 50," one resident told *Sojourners* magazine. "The Muslim patrols are the best thing that ever happened."

The NOI's doctrine of racial pride and self-reliance is strongly tainted by elements of fascism and racist demonology, but because of its success in ameliorating the ravages of Reaganomics among African-Americans, black leaders find it difficult to criticize the group. Indeed, the harsh appraisals by people like Farrakhan are beginning to edge out more reasoned approaches in setting the black agenda (see story on page 8).

Bush's pathetic pitches: When Bush talks about victims of crime, members of the inordinately victimized black community are not his intended audience. Rather than proposing strategies designed to lessen the pressures grinding many black communities into the ground, he instead uses crime as an argument against such strategies. There is a barely disguised message of racism, or at least nativism, bubbling beneath the reedy Republican's pathetic pitches against the American Civil Liberties Union and prison furlough programs, or for the Pledge of Allegiance.

Because of his emphasis on jobs, education and training—in short, reinvesting in human capital—Michael Dukakis apparently has a deeper understanding of the crises confronting many African-Americans. But, like many of the black leaders with whom he seeks counsel, the governor of Massachusetts misunderstands the black community's deeper longings and fears. There are many blacks in Boston's Roxbury section who have remained steadfastly untouched by Dukakis' "Massachusetts Miracle."

The product of our neglect of inner cities cannot be swept under the rug, corralled in new jails or sloganized away. Luckily, this society still has the wherewithal to tackle the problems before they become unmanageable. Whether we wait until armies of bow-tied Farrakhan minions begin acting on their fascist tendencies or packs of crack-ravaged youths start bum-rushing suburban shopping malls is our choice.

There is another choice, and it's about time we started acting on it.

LETTERS

Physically correct

I'VE OFTEN CONSIDERED WRITING SOMETHING HUMOROUS about my life as a socialist aerobics instructor. I don't think there are too many of us. But addressing the contradictions in one's life isn't always funny. Susan J. Douglas' "Flex Appeal" (ITT, Sept. 7), certainly highlights some of the more disturbing aspects of the fitness industry.

I'd like to pretend that the students in my aerobics classes are sweating their butts off mainly for the cardiovascular benefits. But the fact is that the majority are hoping that if they sweat enough, their bodies will somehow be transformed into the ideal of the American beauty magazine. As aerobics instructor, I am to embody a more moderate, though for many unrealistic, goal.

I've been asked to lose 10 pounds for a certain job, or to wear my hair a certain way. (I haven't.) No employer has yet dared to mention the hair under my arms. I like to think that as students get used to seeing my hairy armpits and legs every week, they'll become more tolerant of deviation from the accepted standards of beauty.

Yet if I've been able to escape the process of socialization through which I was taught that women should be hairless, I haven't been able to escape the voices that told me they should have flat stomachs. And what about things like lacy lingerie? I've heard feminists say that they wear it because they like the way it looks, but who can distinguish between personal taste and that which the fashion industry has told us is sexy year after year?

Any woman who has realized how often her tastes regarding personal beauty coincide with the status quo knows that in order to change, she has a whole lot of un-learning to do. I'm trying, but it's a lot more difficult than most of my other political pursuits.

Andrea L. Buffa
New Haven, Ct.

Mother T.

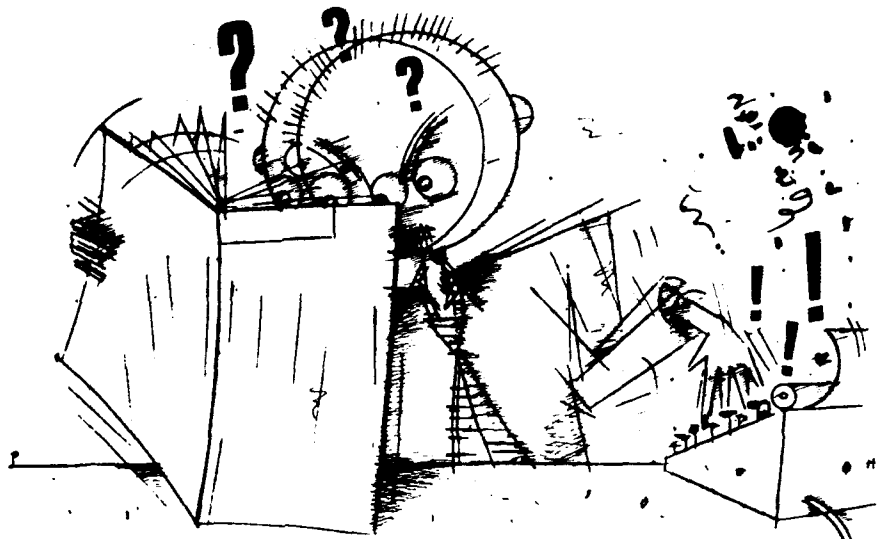
IN YOUR SEPTEMBER 7 ISSUE A LETTER YOU PUBLISHED written by Lenni Brenner (Berkeley, Calif.) contains a reference to Mother Teresa, with the clear implication that she is some paragon of virtue, some saintly woman of peace.

This is not the case at all, and your readers should be aware of it. What she really is is a dangerous religious fanatic. She has been addressing anti-abortion meetings in Canada and holds the view that abortion should never be practiced even when the mother's life is in peril. She further is of the opinion that women who have abortions and the doctors performing them should be jailed.

John G. Packer
Edmonton, Alberta

Mean?

MY FIRST EXPERIENCE WITH LIBERTARIANS (ITT, Sept. 14) came in 1982 while cheering on a friend participating in a blockade of the Selective Service System headquarters in Washington, D.C. A small group of Libertarian students, screaming insults, incited the police to get rough with protesters they were arresting. I informed the students that this was supposed to be a nonviolent demonstration, that they were screwing things up. They told me where to go, but stopped



screaming at the cops. First impressions last. Karen Lehrman's "Libertarian Free-for-All" isn't much of a surprise, but her savage criticism of Russell Means is. I admit my knowledge of his activity isn't really in-depth, but his continuing involvement with the American Indian Movement ought to count for something!

Thornton Kimes
Washington, D.C.

Down on Downey

I AGREE WITH WILLIAM JOHNSTON (LETTERS, SEPT. 28) that Paul Bass should never have gone on the Morton Downey "circus." I actually was his first guest, and the topic was drug testing. I didn't know what to expect, and Downey didn't have his audience as carefully honed as baby pit-bull terriers as he now does. Halfway through the show it was clear that I was winning the audience over.

At the close, Downey remarked that no one had ever turned his head on an issue, but I had come damn close. Then he slapped my thigh and exclaimed, "Abbie, I guess you're clean [of drugs], and I'd fly to Houston with you any day."

"Mort," I responded, "are you nuts? I don't know how to fly an airplane."

That's how the show ended. He had certainly tried to make some sort of dope-fiend commie out of me, but the audience rebelled. There was one memorable moment when a policeman stood up, explained he had been on the force for 10 years, never touched an illegal drug in his life yet was fired for flunking a urine test. A few more stories like that helped.

The producers of the show decided Downey didn't come off looking very good, and the show never aired. I have since been asked numerous times to appear. By burying the first show, they couldn't get me on for any amount of money. Now understand,

I've learned over the years to score lots of points, even change the mind of a Downey-type bigoted host, but it's very hard. That initial turning-of-the-tables wouldn't be possible now that Downey and his audience have been allowed to feast for so long on "do-gooder" meat. Anyone who goes on the show to publicize a book or expose an issue to the public is making a serious mistake. This mutation of media (a la Sidney Lumet's film *Network*) should get no guests or viewers who believe in public discourse. I'm not even sure the show merits this letter. A total boycott is the only proper response.

Abbie Hoffman
Solebury, Pa.

Overground railroad

THANK YOU FOR STEPHEN J. SIMURDA'S STORY ON the Overground Railroad (ITT, Sept. 14). Of the many hundreds of organizations and many thousands of individuals who have organized nationwide to offer aid and comfort to Central American refugees, a disproportionate amount of attention has been focused on the courageous and determined workers in the Sanctuary movement. Simurda's article helps focus light on one of the more successful alternative programs.

For four years I attended St. Aloysius Catholic church in Spokane, Wash., a parish that pursued at some length the possibility of declaring itself a Sanctuary for "illegal" refugees. Conservative elements in the church and diocese stopped the discernment process in its tracks, however, and a parish committee was formed to investigate legal alternatives to Sanctuary. The most appealing was the Overground Railroad and its sister program, Provisional Legal Refuge (PLR).

Unlike Sanctuary, the PLR program assists refugees who are already in the custody of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Sponsor organizations provide bail to obtain the refugee's release, find legal help

and, in most cases, provide room, board and employment opportunities while the refugee pursues permanent legal status in this country.

One obvious drawback to the program is also its most appealing facet: the fact that it is legal. Unlike the Sanctuary movement, which is a provocative form of civil disobedience, PLR works within the system, making it less threatening to many groups. Moreover, it buys time for refugees who face certain deportation and, through the courts, it daily challenges the government's contention that these refugees do not face grave danger in their homelands.

Two and a half years ago, our church group bonded out two Guatemalan refugees who were scheduled for deportation and helped secure the release of a Salvadoran who, when our bond money arrived, was being bused to the airport for a flight to El Salvador. One of the three has already been granted permanent status in the U.S., and the cases of the other two are in the courts.

The story of people of conviction and faith reaching out to help refugees is among the most compelling of the otherwise bleak Reagan era.

Kevin Baxter
Canoga Park, Calif.

Power

IF YOU DON'T STOP HARASSING DUKAKIS IN EVERY issue, we're going to end up with the CIA (Bush) in the White House for four more years. Your petty editorial (ITT, Aug. 17) about Dukakis' mental health indicates your perverse desire to get Bush elected so you'll have more to complain about. Even Jesse Jackson is trying to help Dukakis in spite of everything. So, come on. Help out a little more, please.

Robert Dautch
Carpinteria, Calif.

Editor's reply: Our editorial was not about Dukakis' mental health. It was about Ronald Reagan's wisecrack that he didn't want to comment on an invalid, and Dukakis' failure to hit back. Our point was that seeing a therapist should not be considered an issue. As it happens, Dukakis worked out his feelings about his brother's death with family members, but there would have been nothing wrong had he seen a therapist, which is what some 15 million competent Americans now do. We thought he could have made an effective point on this issue.

Correction: Oops! In our rush to deadline last issue with our "Deal of the Decade" cover story, a misspelled word slipped past us. Page one's corner headline should have read: Abortion under siege. Our apologies.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

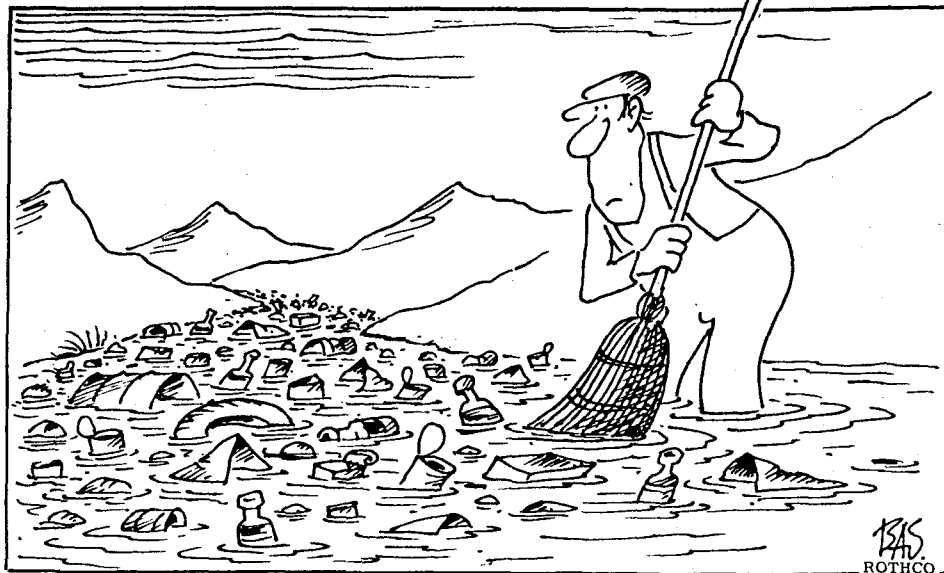
By Robert Gottlieb

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES, IF YOU BELIEVE both of the candidates, will be, come presidential inauguration day, high on the new administration's agenda. After eight years of Ronald Reagan, when the conventional environmental groups found themselves excluded from the corridors of power, both George Bush and Michael Dukakis suggest that the welcome mat this time will be rolled out.

The vice president, for example, talks of acid rain and sewage dumping in the ocean, insisting that he is more sensitive to environmental issues than his boss in the oval office. Michael Dukakis speaks of a moratorium on offshore oil drilling and a commitment to environmental protection, declaring that in one of his first acts as president he will elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to cabinet-level status.

These positions, of course, belie somewhat the history of the two men, especially Bush, who, as chairman of the White House Task Force on Regulatory Relief, helped set the environmental agenda of the Reagan Administration (see story, page 7). This Bush task force made recommendations that systematically attempted to undercut the wide range of environmental laws that had been put in place during the '70s, such as the Clean Water Act, the Safe Drinking Water Act and the Clean Air Act. This was immediately accomplished by the new administration when it signed Executive Order 12291, which provided the Office of

New environmental politics face next administration



Management and Budget veto power over environmental regulations, a power it used effectively over the next eight years.

As governor of Massachusetts, Dukakis, though more sensitive to environmental concerns, also demonstrated a mixed record on the issues. As a strong advocate of economic development, he promoted some big high-rise waterfront developments and a giant shopping mall that created a range of growth-related problems, such as air pollution, traffic congestion, and, in the case of the mall, declining wetlands. And while

he supported trash recycling efforts, he also strongly backed the construction of big trash-burning plants, a controversial waste disposal method that has been bitterly attacked by neighborhood and local environmental groups.

The great divide: This latter issue is also significant in that it points to potential divisions between two very different expressions of environmental politics that either a Bush or a Dukakis administration will have to face. On the one side are the conventional environmental organizations such as the National Wildlife Federation, the Sierra Club, the Environmental Defense Fund and the Audubon Society. They are all Washington, D.C.-based, staff-run organizations, with an emphasis on lobbying, litigation and professional expertise. They helped shape the environmental legislation of the past two decades and attempted to work closely with the environmental bureaucracies in implementing these laws. They reached their peak during the Carter

another kind of environmental agenda from the base rather than from the top. These local organizations, many of them ad hoc in nature when they began, have increasingly developed into a crucial national force, based on networks of various advocacy groups and shared positions and approaches.

They are membership-oriented, often led by women, many of whom are housewives and self-taught experts. They deal more with issues that directly affect the quality of people's lives, from garbage to clean air and water, to transportation and housing. They have provided the impetus for the new slow growth movements around the country, while playing their most significant role in issues involving the wastes and hazards that increasingly confront a variety of communities. Perhaps most significantly, they tend to cross both class and race lines, and come from both urban and rural communities. Their politics is passionate and not temperate, more likely to involve direct action rather than the behind-the-scenes activity favored by the conventional environmental groups.

Where the waste goes: The solid waste issue is a key example of the potential fissures between these two kinds of movements. On the one hand, the conventional groups search for the politics of what's possible, and continually set their goals in terms of what can be accomplished with Congress, the courts and the environmental bureaucracies. With the solid waste issue, that means promoting recycling, as well as a willingness to accept a scaled-down trash burning incineration effort, despite its significant potential environmental hazards from air emissions and the remaining ash residue.

The grass-roots groups, however, who have been in the forefront of confronting proposed incinerator and landfill projects, assert that the approach to the garbage issue has to be completely restructured. They insist that a recycling rate of 50 percent, such as that in Japan, is not only possible but imperative, and that other strategies, such as reducing hazards and wastes at their source, have to be the top priority of any agenda, despite the formidable opposition of industry groups and governmental bureaucracies who are more secure with a high-tech solution such as incineration.

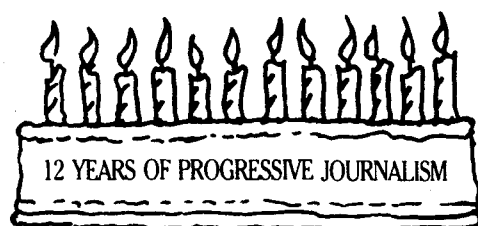
When a new administration takes office in January, the environmental issue, then, will not simply be a question of reaccommodating the conventional environmental movement, or even of beefing up the existing environmental bureaucracies. Also it will be a question of politics and priorities, involving choices that touch the very heart of our heavily urban and industrial society.

And even if some groups or leaders buy off on the next administration's agenda, there will be others, equally laying claim to the environmental politics of the '90s, whose positions might well shape the public discourse around the issue.

Robert Gottlieb is co-author of a chapter on *Environmental Politics in Winning America: New Ideas and Leadership for the '90s*, Marcus Raskin and Chester Hartman, editors. His latest book, *A Life of its Own: The Politics and Power of Water* is published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

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Old approaches will not satisfy a changing constituency.

administration, when a kind of revolving door was established between some key environmental leaders, the environmental bureaucracies and even the law firms and corporations that specialized in a kind of environmental public relations.

During the Reagan years, however, these groups became once again more adversarial, and grew in numbers and political reach in part because of the bungled counteroffensive against the environmental movement by such Reagan officials as James Watt, Anne Gorsuch Burford and Rita Lavelle. Now with either Dukakis or Bush ready to occupy the White House, many of these environmental figures see a possible path back to the corridors of power.

The conventional groups, while hoping to help reshape the environmental agenda of the next administration, have increasingly come under attack from the feisty and growing grass-roots community movements that are succeeding in defining

The corporatist business boost

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

By David Kotz

THE LAST "EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS" column (*In These Times*, Oct. 12) noted that both traditional liberal economic policy and conservative policy have failed to restore healthy economic growth to U.S. capitalism. These failures have opened the door to an alternative economic strategy known as corporatism, which advocates an activist government to help business compete more effectively through industrial policy, boosting investment in technologies and job skills, as well as encouraging capital-labor cooperation.

An examination of Gov. Michael Dukakis' speeches and position papers during the past 18 months reveals a clear commitment to the corporatist strategy. In an April 1987 lecture that is still distributed by the Dukakis campaign, the candidate noted that "we live in a highly competitive world. And governments are deeply involved in that competition." Summarizing the Massachusetts experience, he insisted that "aggressive, creative leadership that combines public resources with private initiative can make a difference."

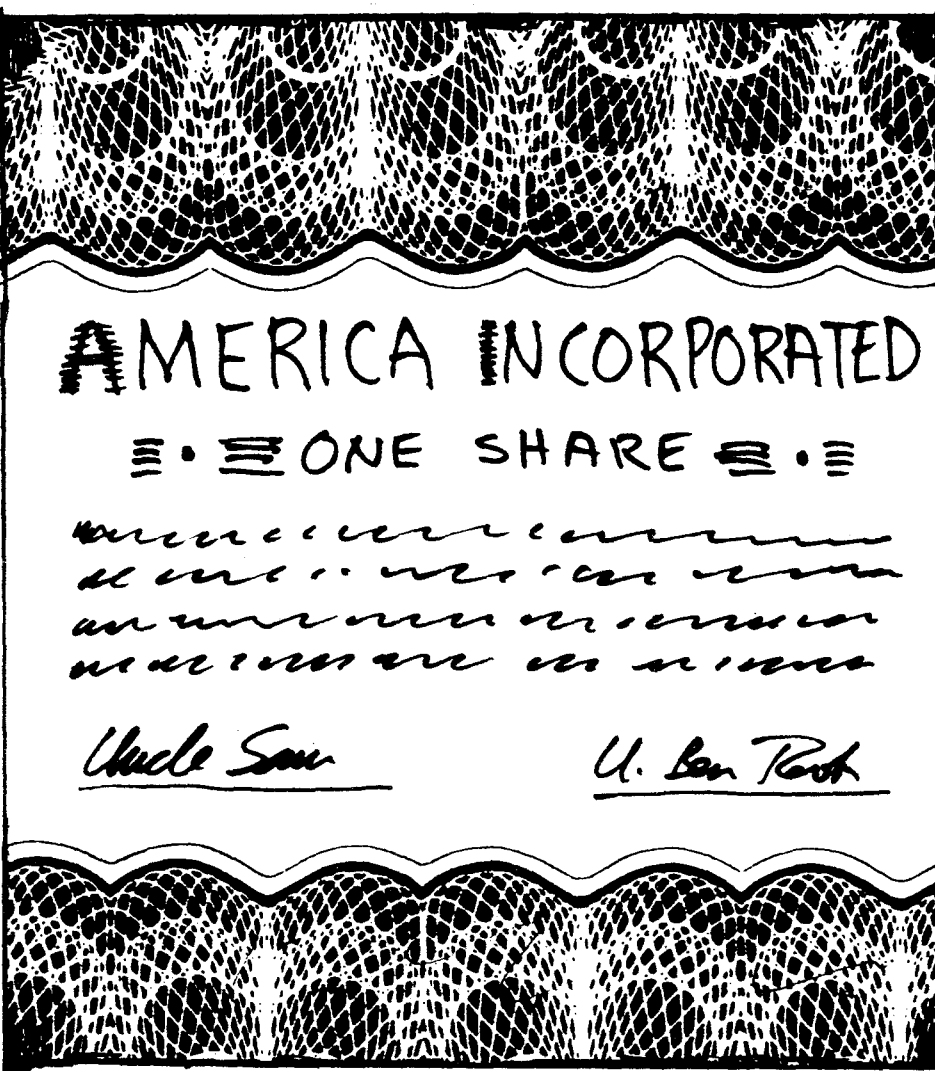
In a major New York address given seven months later, Dukakis called for "investments in good schools and good skills," "investment in essential public infrastructure," and "collaborative industrial policies that bring government and business and labor together...to make our basic industries competitive once again." In March of this year Dukakis promised a Chicago audience that "I'll help basic industries to rebuild and retool," stressing the need for "a partnership between government and business and labor and the educational community."

A current campaign document stresses investment in education, infrastructure and new technologies, as well as in worker training and retraining. Even Dukakis' major social initiatives, such as expanded child care and welfare reform, are cast as ways that government can help people become productive workers.

The one corporatist element missing is a call for restricting consumption to free up resources for investment. This of course is not very popular on the campaign trail, particularly with the traditional base of the Democratic Party. It may be that 10 years of conservative policy have restricted the consumption levels of working people enough. But if Dukakis becomes president, leading Democrats who have been promoting taxes on consumption as a means to boost investment, such as Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ), may find the new administration receptive to such measures.

The Democratic nominee includes in his repertoire some traditional liberal demands for greater equity. His call for national health insurance, a very popular idea according to the polls, is an example. When speaking to labor audiences, he sometimes mentions full employment. But the dominant theme is not the traditional liberal mix of full employment and fairness, but rather the corporatist call for economic success through government-business-labor partnership.

Who supports corporatism? Corporatism has two things going for it at this time. Not only have the other main alterna-



tives failed, but during the last 25 years, the leading practitioner of corporatism in the world, Japan, has been consistently the most successful capitalist country in international competition. Japan's close government-business ties, high rates of saving and investment, highly educated work force, and collaborative capital-labor relations seem to offer a proof of the potential effectiveness of the corporatist strategy. The right-wing economic policies pursued in the U.S. and Britain have failed by comparison.

Yet corporatism's support in the U.S. is not clear. Organized labor has shown some interest in corporatist policies, particularly the industrial policy aspect of it. But the AFL-CIO still has its heart in the old liberal approach.

The clearest evidence of growing big business support is the means by which Dukakis gained the nomination. His massively successful fund-raising effort made him the only Democratic candidate other than Jesse Jackson able to compete in virtually every state. Neither Illinois Sen. Paul Simon's call for full employment nor Missouri Rep. Richard Gephardt's appeal to economic nationalism resonated with wealthy donors. Since only about 17 percent of Dukakis' funds were reported to come from Greek-American sources, his fund-raising success suggests that big money in and around the Democratic Party was receptive to his corporatist message.

If Dukakis wins in November, corporatism will have its chance. But at the moment Dukakis generally trails in the polls. What if Bush wins?

Bush's economic program is as unclear as the current administration's program. He makes some conservative demands, such as a reduction in the capital gains tax. But there are also elements foreign to conservatism, such as calls for child-care sub-

sidies, increased education spending and stronger environmental protection. This is different from campaigner Reagan's powerful call to get the government off people's backs.

Bush's earlier history may be relevant. In 1980 he was the leading moderate Republican candidate. His selection as Reagan's running mate was a sop to Republican moderates to assure their support for the ticket. In this year's primaries, Bush easily defeated his main challengers, all of whom were to his political right. While there is no hard evidence for it in Bush's campaign statements, it is conceivable that a President Bush would end up pursuing a corporatist strategy.

Would corporatism work? Corporatism would extend state intervention in the economy from the macromanagement of demand achieved under liberalism to the micromanagement of individual markets. On paper corporatism appears to be

Despite the problems with the economic strategy known as corporatism, it would create opportunities for the left.

a potentially effective economic strategy, the logical next step in capitalist evolution. The Japanese example has shown that a government that actively helps business to compete and promotes capital-labor cooperation can be a tremendous asset to capitalists in world markets.

However successful corporatism may be in Japan, there would be problems in adapting it to the U.S. The capitalist class is relatively diverse in this country, unlike in

Japan. It is divided by region, ethnic group, religion, educational background and party affiliation. Successful application of corporatism requires that the capitalists act in a reasonably unified fashion. If the capitalists could not agree about which industries should be favored and how, corporatism would collapse in chaos.

America's ideological heritage of popular opposition to an active economic role for the government stands in the way of a corporatist strategy. So does the strength of individualism and localism in American culture and politics. These problems would have to be overcome if corporatism were to become a successful economic strategy. But this would not be the first time in U.S. history that culture and politics adjusted to economic changes.

Implications for the left: If corporatism does become the new dominant policy, it would both present problems for the left and offer opportunities. The main problem would be that the left's major constituencies would often have to recast their demands in a system aimed at aiding U.S. business in its efforts to outdo its foreign rivals. Capital-labor cooperation, on terms basically dictated by capital, would tend to become the order of the day.

For example, there might be a big push to restructure American education, not to produce a better-educated citizenry, but to turn the educational system into a giant job-training program that would produce the particular mix of job skills and personality traits desired by employers. There would also be pressure to structure an expanded child-care system in ways that would benefit employers, such as employer-provided (but state-subsidized) child-care centers at the job site, rather than community-based, parent-run child-care centers.

Corporatism is clearly not the ideal policy for the left or its constituencies. Much better would be a progressive economic policy, as was advocated by Jackson, calling for restructuring the economy to meet people's needs for well-paid jobs and stable communities. But this is not yet in the cards.

And despite the problems with corporatism, it would open opportunities for the left. It would remove many economic decisions from the boardrooms of corporations and banks, where such decisions are insulated from popular influence, and would place them in public agencies. This would make it possible to organize popular constituencies to struggle to make their needs known in the decision-making process. The left could challenge the aims and priorities of government economic decision-making, taking advantage of the accepted view that the public has a right to determine the policies of public agencies. The notion of "people before profits" would be an idea easier to promote under a dominant corporatist policy than under conservative policy. And popular constituencies would clearly be better positioned to affect policy under a Democratic-run corporatism than under a Republican version.

Fear of the potentially democratic character of public institutions is one reason for the U.S. business community's attraction to laissez-faire economics. If economic imperatives end up forcing the adoption of a new interventionist policy, the left must be ready to mobilize its constituencies to make those business fears, and popular hopes, a reality. ■

Beyond American Hegemony: The Future of the Western Alliance

By David Calleo
Basic Books, 288 pp. \$20.95

The Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier: American Military Power in Britain

By Duncan Campbell
Paladin Books, 368 pp. \$3.95

Europe Without America? The Crisis in Atlantic Relations

By John Palmer
Oxford University Press,
232 pp. \$22.50

By Diana Johnstone

Devolution and empire's new roles

how such analysis can find its way into public policy in mediatized America.

Calleo's analysis of U.S.-European relations focuses on the description of their underlying dynamics. In regard to the Soviet Union, "American policy alternates between a hostility that stops short of genuine confrontation and a detente that stops short of genuine accommodation." Alternatively worried that the U.S. is too provocative or that it is "moving toward a superpower condominium at Europe's expense," European

EUROPE

governments "almost inevitably counterbalance American oscillations. Ultimately, Europe helps drive American policy back to its opposite phase."

This pattern has undergone a change that explains growing trans-Atlantic friction. "European detente policy has become linear. American detente policy, however, remains incurably cyclical." West European detente policy is upset by "America's manic-depressive detente cycle."

The American cycle feeds on American illusion and disillusion regarding the Evil Empire of the East. One can recall the petulant American reversal engineered by Zbigniew Brzezinski when a few agreements with Leonid Brezhnev failed to solve all the world's regional conflicts. "Those inclined to blame the Soviets for most of the world's troubles tend to overestimate the likely gains from more cordial diplomatic relations," Calleo observes.

Since Vietnam, Americans have indulged in grotesque excesses of self-pity and self-assertion to exorcize the notion that loss of U.S. omnipotence signals a pathetic decline. "From a broader, more cosmopolitan view," observed Calleo, "America is not sinking; the rest of the world is rising." There are others "out there," and that is what Americans have a hard time accepting.

The British model: Calleo traces the trouble to the mindset of the postwar American foreign policy elite, recruited largely from the ranks of Wall Street bankers and lawyers, whose model was Imperial Britain of the 19th century. "The coming Pax Americana was to be a rebirth of the collapsed Pax Britannica," a model accepted readily by demoralized West European political leaders in the aftermath of World War II.

This model prevailed all the

more easily in the U.S. in that those who had misgivings about America's vocation as imperial power, anti-imperialists on the left and "isolationist" conservatives on the right, were too mutually hostile to combine their opposition.

However, especially in the last 15 years, the U.S. has increasingly abused its leading role in the world system for national self-interest in ways that threaten the system itself, notably by currency manipulation. The nationalist upsurge of the Reagan years has shaken even loyal European allies' faith in America's capacity to exercise world leadership.

Now, the U.S. is faced with a choice between "reaffirmation or devolution." That is, between reasserting America's role as the world's preponderant leader; or else "consciously transforming the global system into a more plural structure." So far, notes Calleo, public debate is exclusively devoted to rival formulations for reasserting U.S. supremacy.

The pluralist model: Leaders (like Dean Acheson) who laid the foundations of the Pax Americana had a hegemonic approach to world order. "As its fundamental tenet, the hegemonic approach assumes that stable peace and prosperity in the world require a benevolent hegemonic power" to "manage the world system in the general cosmopolitan interest." That is what they believed Britain was doing, until Germany came along and challenged Britain's position, plunging the orderly world into chaos.

Calleo challenges this semi-official Anglo-American view of history. His alternative is a "pluralist, or balance of power model," offering a different set of interpretations. From this perspective, the conflict that led to World War I, and from there to World War II, can just as logically be blamed on Britain's refusal to give up hegemony.

Running the world, British rulers neglected the country's social and economic development. As its hegemony was no longer due to its superior production but to positions already won, its hegemony "deteriorated" into "the means for exploiting the international system for national ends rather than managing it in the general interest." In other words, Britain used its advantages to cheat in the world game it had set up.

British refusal to accommodate a rising industrialized Germany "provoked a war that ruined Europe and prevented the new global balance that was in Europe's best in-

terest," Calleo suggests. Thus both Europe and Britain itself were ruined. He warns that following the British model could lead the U.S. to similar ruin. But so far, no alternative has been offered to the American public by their foreign policy elites and political class, whose "historical consciousness seems ensnared in the fantasy of a reborn Pax Britannica..."

This Anglo-American fantasy explains why Margaret Thatcher vehemently scorns Europe in favor of Britain's "special relationship" with the U.S. Just how "special" is spelled out in Duncan Campbell's indispensable book on how Britain has become the Pentagon's *Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier*. Only undying delusions of imperial grandeur can explain the British government's readiness to sacrifice law, land and its own defense to the whims of its imperial heir on the Potomac.

Reluctant Europeans: But even the British are wondering whether they might not be better off with Europe than hanging onto Uncle Sam's coattails. One can plunge into John Palmer's book, *Europe Without America?* where it starts to pick up, at chapter four, on "Britain—The Reluctant European." The reminder by an Englishman of just how non-European Britons are is useful to Americans who, because of language, often tend to get their idea of Europe from British sources. Britain is still far from having overcome the contradiction between membership in the European Community and its traditional policy of dividing and weakening the Continent.

The dawning interest of the British left in Europe marks a major shift in attitudes, even though, as Palmer points out, the perspectives are confused, a string of ifs.

Even as scrupulous a journalist as Palmer is, he is British enough to commit a few erroneous clichés when he writes about continental Europe. The 1922 Rapallo Pact was NOT signed between the Soviet Union and "nationalist right-wing politicians" during the Weimar Republic. Rather, the pact, which mutually wrote off Russian reparations claims against Germany and German compensation claims against property nationalized by revolutionary Russia, was signed by foreign minister Walther Rathenau, a distinguished pro-Western liberal Jew who was assassinated a few weeks later by extreme right-wing nationalist officers. Anti-Rapallo misinformation is part of the Atlanticist creed that Calleo challenges.

It is also a reflection of Anglo-Saxon attitudes to write that "Gaullism in France is associated with a virulent form of nationalism." I have no doubt misused the term "Gaullist" myself in search of a term for a certain category of European nationalists, and so have self-styled

"Gaullists" themselves. Still, it is only fair to recall that the original "Gaullism" of Charles de Gaulle was not at all a "virulent nationalism" but rather a certain eccentric patriotism marked by lucid recognition of French shortcomings, which involved keeping out of relationships that would inevitably lead France, by its very weakness, into humiliating subordination.

Speaking as an equal: De Gaulle imposed realistic acceptance of France's return to Europe from its imperial adventures. It was de Gaulle, not the Socialists, who got France out of the war in Algeria and granted Algeria independence with a dignified "heroes' peace." It was de Gaulle who granted formal independence to France's African colonies. It was de Gaulle who, in 1966, warned the U.S. that the war in Vietnam could not be won. De Gaulle was the first post-war European leader in Western Europe to speak to the U.S. as an honest equal, rather than as a supplicating vassal.

This was why the semi-official media spread a caricature. Like Olof Palme, the other European leader who was right about Vietnam, his arguments were ignored and official America never forgave him.

In recent years, the supine attitudes of European leaders tamed by American dictates have come to irritate even, or especially, the neo-conservatives who wish to see the European NATO allies toughen up. Right-wing dissatisfaction with European softness has raised the issue of "devolution."

However, the case for "devolution" is in itself neither "left" nor "right," but simply realistic.

The right-left choice lies in whether "devolution" is seen in terms of passing to Europe a chunk of Cold War militarization, or of allowing space for something more creative. European consciousness has, at its best, been changing rapidly in recent years. Devolution can mean something much more innovative, more essential and important than merely handing Europe a share of the "NATO burden." There is a growing awareness, largely as a product of the reflection and study stimulated by the Euromissile controversy, that war cannot be fought any more in Europe by any means—nuclear or conventional. Europe's contribution to the "defense" of the world cannot be essentially military, but should rather consist of developing answers to problems of ecology and society.

A constructive devolution would be to encourage Europe to develop its special vocation, born of the failure of war, for reconciliation and peacemaking. For a starter, the U.S. could stop bullying Europe to sacrifice its social welfare programs for military spending.

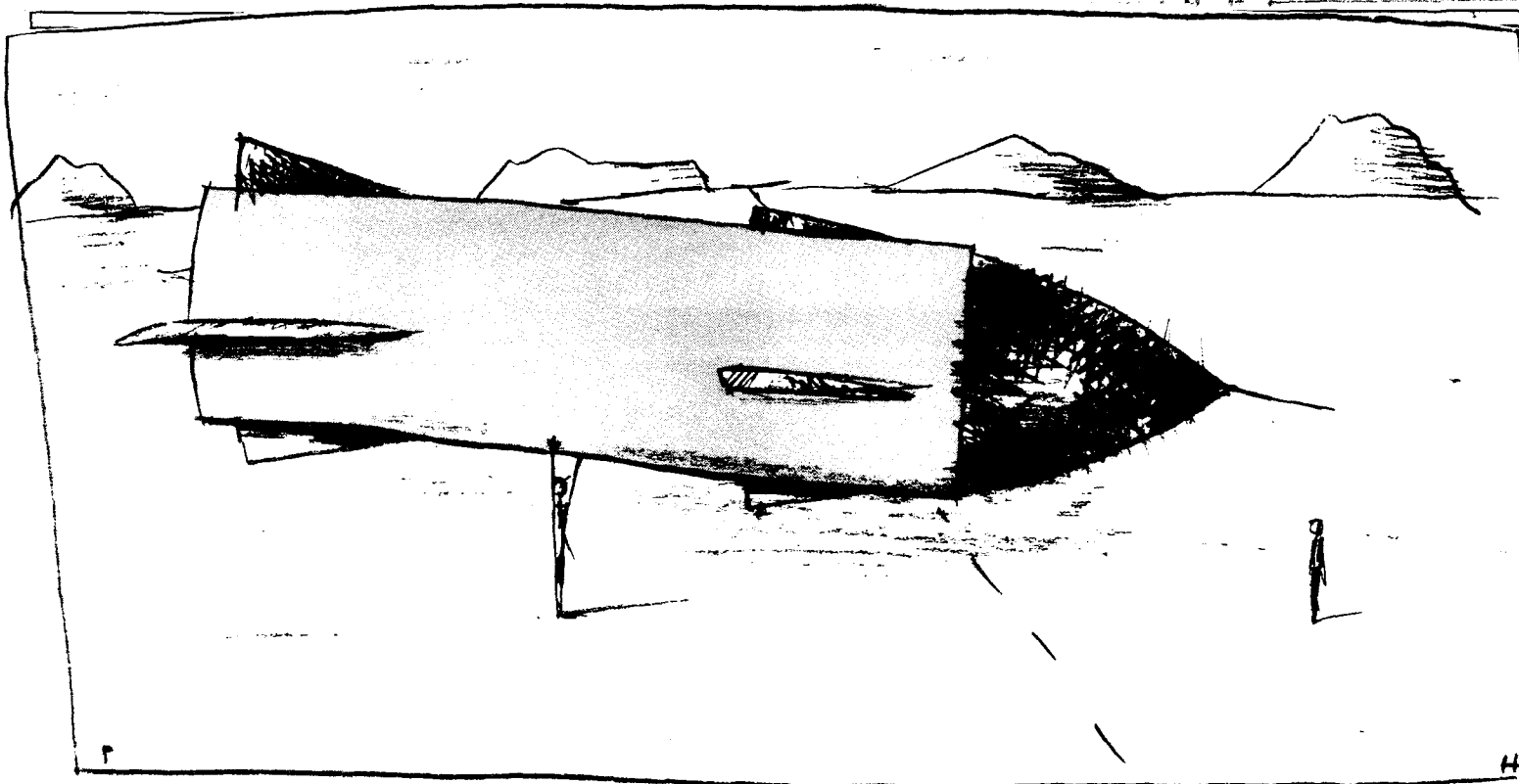
GLIMPSES OF THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL debate make a chilling sight on European television. The catering to jingoism is an ominous reminder that American irritation against foreign "ingratitude" is easily aroused. With help from the media, Washington can substitute national temper tantrums for discussion of differences on trade or defense, as in the fury unleashed against France for not permitting U.S. war planes to fly over French territory on their way to bomb Libya.

The visible U.S. left, that is, liberal Democrats in Congress, can find simple ally-bashing the easiest way to defend a protectionist or economy measure. This tendency shows up in the controversy over European "burden sharing" in NATO, when Democrats put the problem of U.S. force levels in Europe in terms of punishing ungrateful allies.

The trans-Atlantic gap is more than just the contrast between the dismal level of Bush/Dukakis pre-packaged one-liners and European debate. It is also the extraordinary distance between the level of public political debate in America and the level of the best private thinking. In Europe, political leadership has not yet moved completely out of the realm of serious thought into the world of video clips. Obviously U.S. leaders cannot be as stupid as they have to pretend to be when seeking votes. But when do they think, and how? This is a greater secret than Gary Hart's sex life.

Getting to devolution: While candidates wave flags or roll around in tanks, claiming that America will rule the waves forever, foreign policy intellectuals discreetly discuss "devolution," that is, how to sluff off parts of the heavy imperial mantle onto European or other allies.

Optimists who believe that the best ideas eventually win out may seek elements of future U.S. policy in David Calleo's *Beyond American Hegemony*. Calleo is director of European Studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and is certainly no leftist, but in Reaganized America I suppose he may be branded a dangerous liberal simply for knowing too much. A baffling question is



National Security and United States Policy toward Latin America

By Lars Schoultz
Princeton University Press,
377 pp., \$12.95

By Bud Kenworthy

IN THE DEBATE OVER CENTRAL AMERICA, the Reagan right has appropriated the mantle of "national security." It talks of sea lanes, choke points, strategic raw materials, reconnaissance flights and canal transit for a four-ocean navy. Critics change the subject to human costs, international law, domestic needs and long-term consequences. The trouble with that counterattack is that it doesn't engage the national security argument at its "realist" core.

Most U.S. citizens, certainly most elected officials, aren't that interested in the long term, in the trade-offs and in legal niceties. They prefer not to think about foreign policy and thus deliver their votes to candidates who appear hard-headed on national security issues, candidates who give the illusion of understanding sea lanes, choke points and strategic goods, candidates like George Bush. While the overall standing of the two presidential candidates in the opinion polls remains too close to call, Bush zooms out in front when the public is asked which they prefer to handle foreign affairs.

Reclaiming national security: Schoultz' book is a karate lesson for critics, a way to turn the national security argument back on Bush, Reagan and their handlers. Those who plow through the dense middle chapters of this study need never again concede the national security issue even as it is framed by the right. For the author amply demonstrates (a) that most Reagan Republicans don't understand national security data and (b) that their behavior in office belies their rhetoric. That is, (a) the solemn protestations of Reagan policy-makers are grounded not in realism but in outdated information and sloppy analysis, while (b) they consistently have failed to

The left's right to national security

take actions within their power that would have concretely enhanced U.S. national security in the Caribbean basin—again national security as they themselves define it.

The last point is the most telling. The Reagan administration has

DIPLOMACY

spent a great deal, obviously, to overthrow Nicaragua's Sandinistas and to shore up El Salvador's Duarte. It has not, however, put its money where its mouth is when it comes to sea lanes, imported petroleum, potential Soviet military bases and the like. It has spent millions, then, on its agenda, which is to preserve an outdated hegemony in the Monroe Doctrine tradition. It has not invested in national security relevant to the '80s. In other words, national security rhetoric has been used to sell the less palatable agenda of imperialism. This cross-wiring of the public debate cannot be exposed by critics who walk away from national security questions.

Like a petulant spouse unwilling to do anything about a bad situation lest it lose debating points useful in another venue or another time, the Reagan administration took few concrete steps to reduce what vulnerability U.S. security actually experiences in the Caribbean basin. For example, the president and secretary of state struck an alarmist note with their claim that "three-quarters of our imported oil" passes through Caribbean sea lanes.

As Lars Schoultz points out in *National Security and United States Policy toward Latin America*, that is an inflated figure; half of our imported oil is more like it. Schoultz goes on to detail the concrete steps that Reagan could have taken to reduce that to 13 percent. Yet despite the protestations of our vulnerability,

the U.S. continues to send its own Alaskan oil through the Panamanian pipeline. Steps to reduce U.S. dependence on Caribbean-transmitted oil carry costs, to be sure, but those costs would not seem prohibitive to anyone who really believed that national security was at risk.

Oversimplification: Before citing additional examples, in fairness I should point out that my use of Schoultz' book is probably not what he intended. This nearly 400-page scholarly work is written by a University of North Carolina political scientist, with an eye to understanding the intellectual process by which U.S. policy-makers link Latin American "instability" to U.S. "national security."

Schoultz isn't shy when it comes to calling administration analysis "nonsense." He attributes the policy-makers' errors to a need to simplify. From this side of contragate, their motives seem more sinister: a deliberate attempt to obfuscate public choices either by hiding information or by packaging it in rhetoric Congress can't refuse.

In Schoultz' view, however, under time pressures and information overload, and basically viewing Central America as a sideshow, top officials of all persuasions welcome the

Liberals swallow the rhetoric of national security while leftists concede this debate by walking away from the table.

simplification their subordinates provide through "enhanced" data, contrived options and the flagging phrase "national security." "[M]ost policy-makers do not ask...whether [Latin American] instability has any significant consequences for U.S. security," Schoultz concludes. "They assume it does."

While this complicates their lives by increasing the number of "trouble spots" to which attention must be paid—a welcome complication for those whose careers ascend when "their" region gains salience—"on balance...this assumption of importance simplifies policy-making because it permits officials the freedom of never having to answer the question of significance." That bears restating. When Latin America breaks through the indifference of top policy-makers, it already carries the stigmata of "vital national security interest." If it didn't, it wouldn't have broken through.

Post-breakthrough, policy-makers nowadays divide on the causes of Latin American instability: "poverty" or "communism," rarely a combination of the two. As the debate moves from causes to consequences—consequences framed as potential worst-case outcomes—a broad coalition forms behind the need to preclude or reverse any Latin American process that could result in Soviet or Cuban gains "in our backyard."

Old bets are off: Schoultz' mapping of the process by which instability in some small, poor Latin nation is transformed into a core concern of U.S. foreign policy is based on interviews conducted with 300 policy-makers during the Reagan years. Of greater value for opponents of U.S. intervention in the region is his objective assessment of national security claims. In speeches about Nicaragua, Reagan reminds us that "In World War II, only a few German U-boats, operating from bases 4,000 miles away in Germany and occupied Europe, inflicted crippling losses on U.S. shipping right off our southern coast." Lars Schoultz reminds us that this is irrelevant half a century later. In an era of ICBMs, nuclear-powered ships and satellite

reconnaissance, old bets are off. Recent submarine technology has even diminished the value to the Soviets of Cuban bases to which it has access.

Establishing Soviet air or submarine bases in, say, Nicaragua, would detract from, rather than enhance, Soviet security. Such an act would provoke Washington to display its power and Soviet weakness through Grenada-like strikes at East Bloc personnel and equipment in this hemisphere, strikes the Soviets would be crazy to answer. So why run the risk?

The Kremlin has more attractive targets closer to home should it decide to interdict U.S. shipping, to militarily back Third World revolutionaries, to step up its surveillance of the U.S. or to launch a nuclear attack. For Cuba, the tradeoff is even starker; for it to attack U.S. territory or shipping is tantamount to committing suicide.

Soviet exercise of its right to prowl the international waters of the Caribbean no doubt increases Pentagon costs in tracking Soviet subs. Soviet "presence" in countries from which it used to be absent likewise raises a host of nuisance costs Washington would rather avoid. But having to pay something to maintain big power status is not to be confused with having the national security compromised. Ironically, were Washington to successfully track all Soviet nuclear-armed subs, and were the Kremlin to know that, Washington would be encouraging the Kremlin to launch submarine-based missiles in a first strike whenever deterrence showed serious signs of cracking.

As it is, the Soviet's deadliest sub can destroy any target in the U.S. without leaving the Barents Sea. As Schoultz reminds us, "Closeness simply does not matter as much as it once did." Knowing this, the Pentagon has decreased its investment in bases in the Caribbean basin. The flurry of U.S. military activity in and around Honduras—linked to the hegemonic goal, not the national security goal—has obscured the closing or downscaling of many U.S. facilities over the decades.

And so it goes. Serious intelligence analysts, including many at State and Defense, do not find a documentable threat to U.S. national security in this hemisphere unless they buy into the convoluted rationalizations spun around the "need" to maintain U.S. "credibility." Yet liberals swallow the rhetoric of national security whenever it's served up in debates over Central America, while leftists concede this debate by walking away from the table. The better alternative is to argue that Reagan-Bush policy toward this historic U.S. sphere of influence reveals that neither man actually understands national security. ■

Bud Kenworthy teaches political science at Cornell University. His latest article on the U.S. debate surrounding Central America appeared in *World Policy Journal*, Winter 1987-88.

IN THESE TIMES OCT. 19-25, 1988 19

By Darcy DeMarco

Market and Olivia both mature

Judy Dlugacz, president of Olivia Records, stays the course despite 15 years of changing markets.



Irene Young

GOT ANY PLANS FOR SATURDAY, Jan. 21, 2073? If not, Olivia Records would like to book your time now for its 100th Anniversary Concert at the Women's Music Pavilion. Never mind that the pavilion isn't built yet. It'll be there, if Olivia President Judy Dlugacz has any say about it. Just as Olivia Records is still there 15 years after its inception, despite the doubts of many who thought that an independent, lesbian-feminist record company could never make the grade.

The 100th Anniversary Concert is part of a year-long fund-raiser and promotion celebrating Olivia's 15th anniversary. Conceived earlier this year, when the record company was in financial trouble, the fund-raiser has successfully reaffirmed the financial and emotional commitment of Olivia's supporters, who were told during the spring that without additional funding Olivia would cease record production at year's end.

"I was feeling very, very concerned," Dlugacz recalled in a telephone interview. "Now I see a light at the end of the tunnel."

Starting strong: The recent crisis was but another chapter in Olivia's unlikely history. Olivia was founded in 1973 in Washington, D.C., when a group of women, including Dlugacz, saw a need to produce music that spoke to feminists, women-identified women and lesbians. Amid the burgeoning feminist and lesbian movements, Olivia's founders knew, said Dlugacz, that the response to their efforts would be strong.

"We started with \$4,000," she recalled. "We didn't have any resources, except the need and desire for it to happen. Yet, there was a tremendous reaction to what we did."

Within a few months of the release of Olivia's first single, featuring "Lady," and "If It Weren't for the Music," by Meg Christian and Cris Williamson, the 45 had sold 5,000 copies, and what is now known as the women's music market was born. Despite this initial success, however, Olivia's founders did not become rich. Neither did the company.

"We financed three record sales and the original group by working 14-hour days for \$15 a week," Dlugacz explained. Unable to obtain financing from traditional sources such as banks, Olivia had to rely on the revenue from artists' tours.

"Meg would go out on the road and bring back what she made. For our first one-and-a-half years in Washington, D.C., all of us had jobs, except for Meg. We'd do Olivia after work."

In 1975, Olivia left Washington for Los Angeles, in order to be near the record business. And that year was a turning point. The release of Cris

Williamson's "The Changer and the Changed" and "I Know You Know" established Olivia and the women's music market as genuine forces in the industry. The energy and excitement of this time remain embossed in Dlugacz's memory.

"We were growing incredibly fast," she said. "The concerts were a tremendous event. For the first time, women were coming together as an audience."

Mature markets: At first Olivia used the concerts to recruit distributors; in time, an international distribution network was formed. The existence at the time of just one other women's record company, Wise Woman, left a wide gap in the market that Olivia rushed to fill. Through personal contacts and the commitment to building a forum for

women's culture, the women's music industry began to take form.

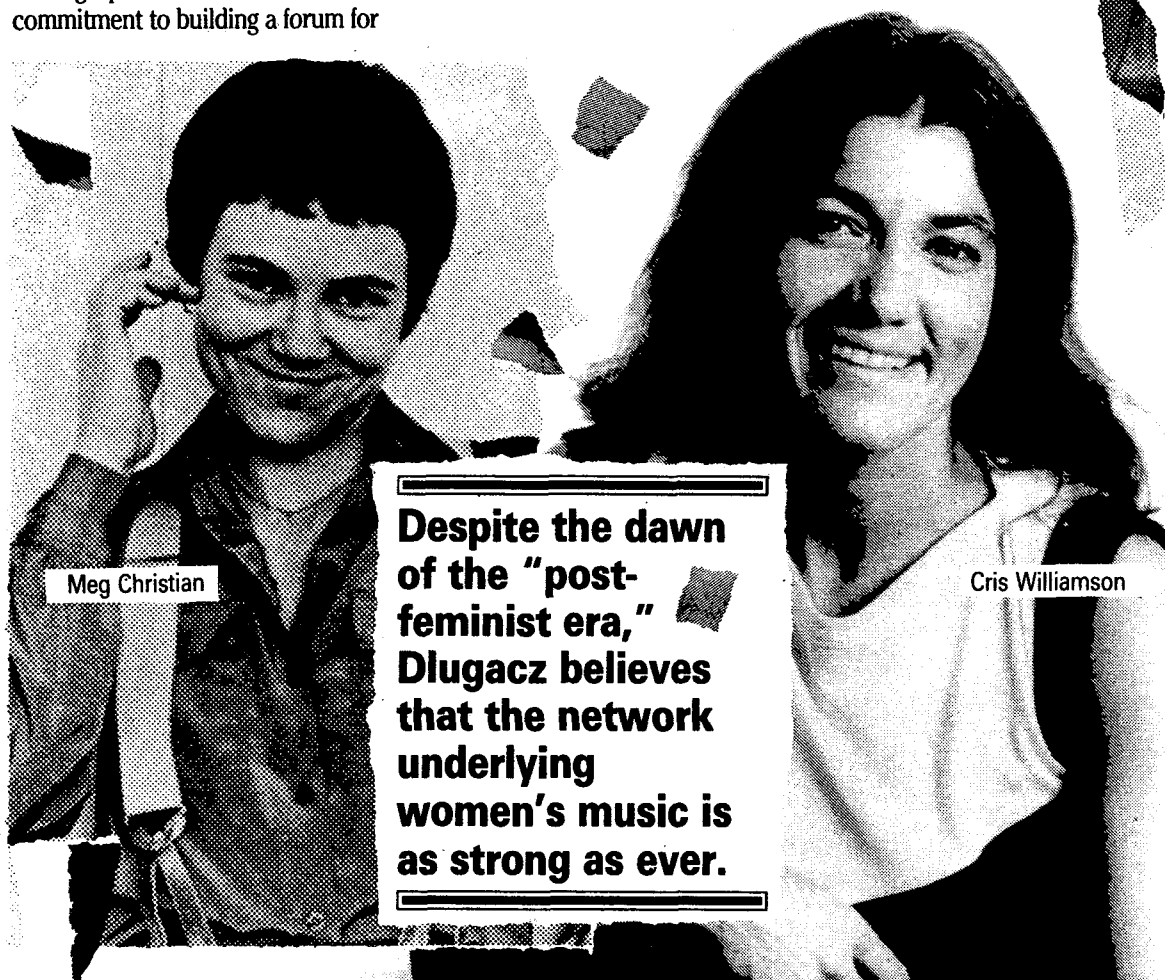
Despite the dawn of the "post-feminist era," Dlugacz believes that the network that formed the basis of women's music is just as viable in the '80s as it was then. "I feel today that it's stronger," she said. "At the time there were no producers; we were all learning. Now there are people who have made it in their profession, whether as a producer, an engineer or whatever. Sales of all the artists are stronger. But now it's not focused just in one place."

Dlugacz said that the maturing and diversification of the women's music market has strengthened women's culture despite a lack of media attention. "When there were only two or three artists, there were

lots of sales. Now there are more, so people can pick and choose." Attendance figures at Olivia's 15th anniversary concerts, held across the U.S. and continuing through 1988, bear this out; sellout shows in San Francisco, Boston and Los Angeles averaged 2,400 people.

"As an industry, we're growing up," Dlugacz said. "I think we're in our adolescence. To keep to that level, we have to expand the audience even further."

Mass appeal: The growth of the women's market means that different artists, and record labels, appeal to different segments. While Olivia is known as "the women's label," it maintains a lesbian-feminist focus and is committed to creating visibility for lesbians. As such, it works



Meg Christian

Cris Williamson

Despite the dawn of the "post-feminist era," Dlugacz believes that the network underlying women's music is as strong as ever.

only with women artists. Other labels, such as Redwood Records, have developed their own focus; Redwood works with both men and women, and particularly with South American artists.

"Our challenge is to reach out to people who are new to us," Dlugacz said. "Younger women are seeing a lot of artists. At our 15th anniversary concerts we saw a lot of people who are new to the music. Initially we had targeted the lesbian-feminist audience and had a movement to support us. As the movement has become less organized we need to find ways of reaching people who have never heard of us."

While expanding one's marketing program from a limited financial base may seem daunting, Dlugacz and Olivia remain undeterred. "We have always been undercapitalized," she said.

One disadvantage of being an independent record producer is that there is less room for mistakes. According to Dlugacz, 80 percent of all records are commercial failures. But because Olivia works on much smaller margins than do major labels, it cannot afford to have 80 percent of its releases flop. It therefore must now select its artists more carefully.

"Our audience has very high expectations of us," she explained. "In the early days we created a lot of opportunity for new artists. Now we need artists to create opportunity before we will take the plunge. Today's artists are much more sophisticated in audience development than they were before."

Olivia's artists are women-identified and share the label's commitment to building a stronger voice for women and lesbians. New artists include Dianne Davidson and Nancy Vogl. More established, recent successes include Lucie Blue Tremblay and Deidre McCalla. There is, Dlugacz says, a special bonding between Olivia's artists, a sense of community in working toward a shared goal.

Dlugacz believes that the greatest effect that women's music has had on the industry is the successful introduction of intelligent, socially oriented lyrics into the mainstream market. But Olivia's primary focus continues to be creating musical culture for women who are disenfranchised.

"Creating music that speaks to our lives has been important," she said. "I do this today, for the same reasons I began 15 years ago. Hearing this type of music when I was a teen would have enhanced my life."

■ Fall concerts are slated for Seattle, Minneapolis, Chicago, Atlanta, Denver and Washington, D.C., as well as Carnegie Hall in New York. For more information, contact Olivia Records, 4400 Market Street, Oakland, CA 94608, (415) 655-0364.

Darcy DeMarco is a Boston-based freelance writer.

Can't keep out of harmolodics' way

Virgin Beauty

Ornette Coleman
(Portrait/CBS)

Texas

Ronald Shannon Jackson
(Caravan of Dreams Productions)

By Fred Little

EVEN BEFORE HE APPEARED AS THE oracular McClintock Sphere in Thomas Pynchon's *V*, Ornette Coleman's down-home improvisational mutations had sent shock waves through the jazz world. The fruits of an approach he calls harmolodics—drawing on harmony, modality and melody simultaneously—these apparently free-form works were as radical an innovation as those of Stravinsky and Schönberg. And as with the premiere of *The Rite of Spring*, the initial shock was more than most listeners could bear.

Still, there was always a solid cadre of followers willing to let him take their ears wherever his harmolodic muse led, not least because of his uncanny ability to choose inspired accompanists.

20-year lag: The other players in the groundbreaking Ornette Coleman Quartet, Billy Higgins, Charlie Hade and Don Cherry, have long since been recognized as significant figures in the American jazz tradition. But the same fans who took 20 years to digest the quartet's pivotal *Art of the Improvisers* have been slow to give more recent collaborators due credit. Whether because of a hostility to the increasingly electric sound of his band, Prime Time, or a vision of Coleman as avant-garde auteur turning sow's ears into harmolodic silk purses, many listeners have regarded his more recent accompanists as "mere" vernacular elements cunningly integrated into Coleman's grand scheme.

Virgin Beauty may not change any minds, but it does seem likely to bring Coleman to the attention of listeners outside the rather narrow audience for avant-garde jazz. Grateful Dead fans, long used to that group's improvisational forays, will be drawn by the presence of Jerry Garcia on three of the album's cuts. Garcia plays right up to the level of the band. And the challenge of being an ensemble player (in fact as well as theory) has given his work a bright, supple sound that hasn't been heard on a Grateful Dead release in years. It would be a welcome continuation of this trend if Garcia continued to go outside his long-since ingrown family of accompanists in order to play with musicians strong enough to challenge him. If the results are anything like this, it would be as much a benefit to him as to the audience.

As a whole, *Virgin Beauty* doesn't run as aggressively counter to con-

ventional notions of harmony as much of Coleman's previous work. Those fans who respect difficult artifacts more than manifestations of a graceful process will, no doubt, sing a mournful 12-tone blues in response. The rest of us will be doubly enriched. *Virgin Beauty* is a love song from the common ground of Western harmony, modal polyphony, urban funk, "primitive" polyrhythm and shitkicker two-step, molded into a new dispensation of intelligence, wit and good humor.

Like a virgin: If this were Japan or France, Ornette Coleman would be designated a national treasure for his fusion—in the best possible sense of the word—of vernacular

JAZZ

tradition and high art. Of course, if this were Japan or France, his fans would cheer, rather than bemoan, his acceptance by a larger audience.

But new listeners will find *Virgin Beauty* an accessible door into the structural framework of Coleman's body of work. In both name and sound, the final three cuts "Chanting," "Spelling the Alphabet" and "Unknown Artist") are as neat a primer as I've found to where harmolodics comes from—a place where music and mind are one. That's a tall order, requiring nothing less than the detuning of Western ears conditioned by 300 years of tempered scales and clubfoot rhythm, but Coleman does his part to fill it, as surely as have Lou Harrison and the late Harry Partch.

The master's genius at the successful combination and juxtaposition of apparently disparate elements has been a burden to some

Dead Heads note: Garcia jams with Ornette.

former members of his band. A good case in point is Ronald Shannon Jackson, whose *Texas*, in keeping with its title, lays claim to a long stretch of territory. Since playing drums on Coleman's well-regarded *Dancing in Your Head*, Jackson has gone on to produce a long string of albums as a drummer, composer, bandleader and arranger.

From the solid grooves and beautifully demented harmonies of *Mandance*, through the Oriental inflections of *BBQ Dog* and the stately complexities of *When Colors Play*, Jackson's work with the Decoding Society has evidenced an increasing level of sophistication that better-known "mainstream" jazz artists ignore at their own peril. Anybody who claims that the problem with modern jazz is that the musicians are thinking too much to swing can't

have really heard Jackson.

Despite all of that, there is still a sizeable body of fans holding the opinion that Jackson is a merely adequate jazz drummer who sounded really great when Ornette was arranging. *Texas* provides ample evidence to the contrary. As good as Jackson's earlier efforts with his band the Decoding Society are, they don't prepare the listener for this. This is a singular piece of work, like Santana's *Caravanserai*, Herbie Hancock's *Maiden Voyage* or Miles Davis' *In a Silent Way*. *Texas* will change the way you hear.

Whirlwind swing set: Beginning with the fast, jittery guitar figures and extended harmonies of "Nothing Beats a Failure But a Try," Jackson takes the listeners on a whirlwind rhythmic, melodic and harmonic tour of the Afro-European music that has been evolving ever since the Moors took Spain. But instead of stringing together quotes from styles from A to Z, or carving stiff replicas of living things, he has gotten inside the gene strip. The result is straight-out-of-the-egg fresh.

Moreover, nobody else has integrated the vocabularies of electric guitar and saxophone this successfully, both as elements of a group sound and as individual voices. The final three cuts of the album—"Shotgun Wedding," "Psychic Greeting" and "Sheep in Wolf's Clothing"—are the long-awaited delivery on the expectations that were aroused shortly before Jimi Hendrix' death when it was announced that he would be working with Gil Evans.

Other cuts also provide some nice surprises. "Holyman" and "Evoking" evidence a spiritual depth and technical facility that go far beyond most anything you'll find in the New Age bins, while "Charming the Beast" (the album's pick single) sounds like a slinky theme song to an unmade Fellini film, or the product of an otherworldly collaboration between Nino Rota and Astor Piazzola.

Yet this 40-odd minutes of music is as much a single piece as it is eight cuts or two sides of tunes. Jackson's apprenticeship is done. He's long past being a journeyman. He plays inventively and energetically, arranges with an all-too-rare combination of intelligence and humor, and composes with a convincing command of rhythm and harmonic innovation.

There are hints of Debussy, Stravinsky, Schönberg and (yes) Ornette Coleman flavoring the stew, but the overall flavor suggests the (re-)discovery of the transcendent principles that unite them all. *Texas* swings as hard as Bob Wills ever did. While Wynton Marsalis is wandering from public TV station to public TV station, talking about the need to preserve the tradition, Jackson has claimed his place in the first rank of innovators. With any luck, it won't take the audience 20 years to get hip. ■

Fred Little, a regular contributor to *In These Times*, is a New York-area freelance writer.

MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

Have we hit bottom?

Local TV news has been hard hit by bottom-line planning in the last three years. (As you recall, the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) lifted restrictions on station trading, which produced a flurry of mergers and takeovers; as prices rose, owners were stuck with whopping debt loads.) At the same time, shock jocks and exploitation operators have taken up the slack. People who were stunned when a New York TV station put *Jeopardy* in its prime-time nightly news spot will be amazed that a St. Louis ABC affiliate has dropped its local news show altogether. In its place will be that paragon of public affairs integrity, Geraldo Rivera. Presumably, the recent revelations that not all of Geraldo's guests are what they claim to be will only make his show more fun to watch.

Tabloid TV

Perhaps Geraldo-mania is just beginning; he's also launching a new show, *The Investigators*, to feature lurid stories from local TV. Trend-happy Geraldo is never one to miss an opportunity. Non-fiction TV is gaining in popularity as serious news takes a dive, partly because it's cheaper to produce than fiction. There's the illustrious roster of *America's Most Wanted*, Fox's show that dogs criminals (in the process, privatizing the role of criminal justice in a way that raises legal eyebrows), as well as *A Current Affair*; and Geraldo's soon-to-be-extended prurient pokings. Orion TV is planning a program modeled on the British *Crimewatch*, and Paramount comes clean about its intentions with a show boldly entitled *Tabloid*. But not all the tabloid TV is downbeat. Ex-ABC producer Susan Winston is launching *The National Lost and Found*, in which investigators will link lost inheritances and inheritors. "I consider it a good-news version of *America's Most Wanted*, she told *Electronic Media* magazine. On the tabloid-TV horizon, Gannett's much-touted *USA Today* TV show is a hybrid—good-news tabloid TV that still lays claim to the title of news.

Congress tunes in

Members of Congress listen closely when broadcast lobbies speak; after all, they need radio and TV during their permanent campaigns. But broadcasters also listen when legislators speak, and they pay for it too. The National Association of Broadcasters was second only to the American Trucking Association in dollars for honoraria to congressional speakers last year; with \$114,300 invested in legislative rhetoric, it paid more than twice what Lockheed did. Broadcast lobbies are also "leaders of the PACs," far outspending other media with contributions topping three-quarters of a million dollars.

The honor system

It may be hard to believe, but until now the TV networks have employed hundreds of people to watchdog programs and commercials. Thanks to recent savage cutbacks, those standards-and-practices departments at all three networks are now much smaller. Who cares? Advertisers, that's who. They fear that slackening self-enforcement will lead to more government regulation. In a Republican administration, their fears may be groundless. A spokesperson for the flaccid Federal Trade Commission told *Broadcasting* magazine, "Simply the fact that the networks are reducing their staffs doesn't mean they will be any less effective in screening deceptive ads." Only a cynic would read into this statement a criticism of current standards-and-practices policy.

Poor loser

The United States Information Agency (USIA) has announced that if it can't play by its rules, it'll take its football and go home; it has until November 9 to make good on its promise. In the Reagan era, the USIA labeled some films—particularly films with a viewpoint different from the Reagan administration—propaganda. Its opinion matters because an exemption from paying duty when films travel internationally—essential to foreign distribution—is at stake. The Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) charged that such labeling was unconstitutional, and has won two rounds in court. Charles Wick, head of the agency, said that if the USIA finally loses its court battle, it will recommend withdrawing from the international treaty in question. A district court decision has now ordered USIA to come up with new and constitutional regulations by November 9. Meanwhile, USIA has also asked the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals to rehear its earlier decision against the USIA; the request is still pending. ■

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Chile

Continued from page 3

rallies were reported elsewhere in Santiago and in cities across the country.

Violent repression: The government's tolerance was short-lived. The same police who hugged demonstrators soon used tear gas, water cannons and shotguns to violently break up crowds that filled downtown Santiago and other Chilean cities.

Roving bands of armed Pinochet supporters and police fired into crowds of celebrators, wounding dozens and killing four youth in the two days after the plebiscite. Police severely beat more than 20 accredited foreign journalists and photographers, including this *In These Times* reporter (see accompanying story).

Human rights leaders were alarmed at the violence. "In a short time, repression by security forces has reached levels unseen in years. Nothing has changed," said Andres

Domingues, coordinator of the Chilean Human Rights Commission.

In spite of his defeat, General Pinochet is attempting to come out the victor. "If they want a change they are not going to get it...there will not be transactions or any other sort of thing (with the opposition)," he said in sharp, threatening tones in a TV appearance after the vote. Pinochet has shed the conciliatory, grandfatherly, civilian image cultivated in campaign appearances prior to the plebiscite and has changed back into his uniform, ready for war.

"The government is using a warlike language to twist reality and provoke the Chilean people," said Guillermo del Valle of the center-left Party for Democracy.

Pinochet's closest political aide, Interior Minister Sergio Fernandez called Pinochet the real winner "with the greatest political force and public support" even though he received just 43 percent of the votes. Fernandez argued the 55 percent vote against

Pinochet should be divided by 16—the number of parties in the opposition coalition—to give the dictator the majority. He called supporters to remain mobilized and called the opposition "anarchistic."

"They're going down a dangerous road, making their supporters believe they are victorious and asking them to show their force," warned moderate socialist leader Ricardo Lagos of the Party for Democracy.

The opposition has the ball: The opposition—from the communists to the rightist National Party—has taken a truly pragmatic approach to a delicate situation. Some say too pragmatic.

As *In These Times* went to press, the opposition was presenting a set of demands to the armed forces for rapid elections and changes in the constitution to make it more democratic. But many opposition leaders quietly fear the need to seize the momentum now, before public energy subsides.

Although they have remained unified, the

powerful Christian Democrats have dissuaded spontaneous street protests, in an effort to avoid provoking the armed forces. The left sees social mobilization and strikes as the only way to force Pinochet to negotiate.

"We are open to almost any avenue to a peaceful and rapid transition to democracy," said German Correa, spokesman for a powerful socialist faction in the coalition. "Pinochet has been defeated and the people have to win back democracy."

One veteran political commentator here from the daily *Fortin Mapocho* said the opposition forces' respect for democratic understanding may have gotten the best of them: "The opposition better take into account that they are not dealing with a democrat, but a dictator. They have to make their demands and make them fast, before it's too late."

Michael Smith is *In These Times'* correspondent in Chile.

Preschool

Continued from page 13

to provide comprehensive health, education and social services to low-income preschoolers and their families. Labeled "Success by Six," the effort has been championed by Honeywell Inc. President James Renier. Renier, a trustee of the national Committee for Economic Development, an influential corporate advocacy group that recommends greater social investment in children, reassured the *New York Times* that such programs aren't "socialism," but compassion.

They are also a matter of self-interest. With a tightening of the labor pool predicted for the turn of the century, business can no longer just give up on the one-third to one-half of urban high school students who don't graduate today. "The nation can ill afford such an egregious waste of human resources," wrote the Committee for Economic Development in its report, *Children in Need: Investment Strategies for the Educationally Disadvantaged*.

In the faces of poor children, many business leaders are seeing the ravages of the Reagan years—the results of wage erosion, structural unemployment, social-spending cuts, even racism—and the limits to how much wages, job benefits and public spending can be cut back before there is no workforce from which to squeeze productivity.

For now, preschool is a more popular solution to poverty and unemployment than raising wages, providing jobs or offering the social supports low-wage workers need to avoid poverty. Yet clearly, even the best preschool programs can't unravel the complicated knot of social and economic policies that are trapping many families in poverty.

"We stand a danger of overselling preschool," warns Edward Zigler. "It helps somewhat, but it's damage control. It can't end poverty. The whole infrastructure of jobs, wages, schools and health care has to be changed."

In the meantime, though, the consensus on early childhood education is rehabilitating the idea that government can do something about poverty. Head Start may be a small start, but at least it's a beginning.

Joan Walsh, former *In These Times* California bureau chief, is an associate editor at Pacific News Service. As a consultant to the Urban Strategies Council, she wrote its most recent report, *Changing the Odds: Expanding Early Childhood Development Programs for Oakland's Low-income Families*.

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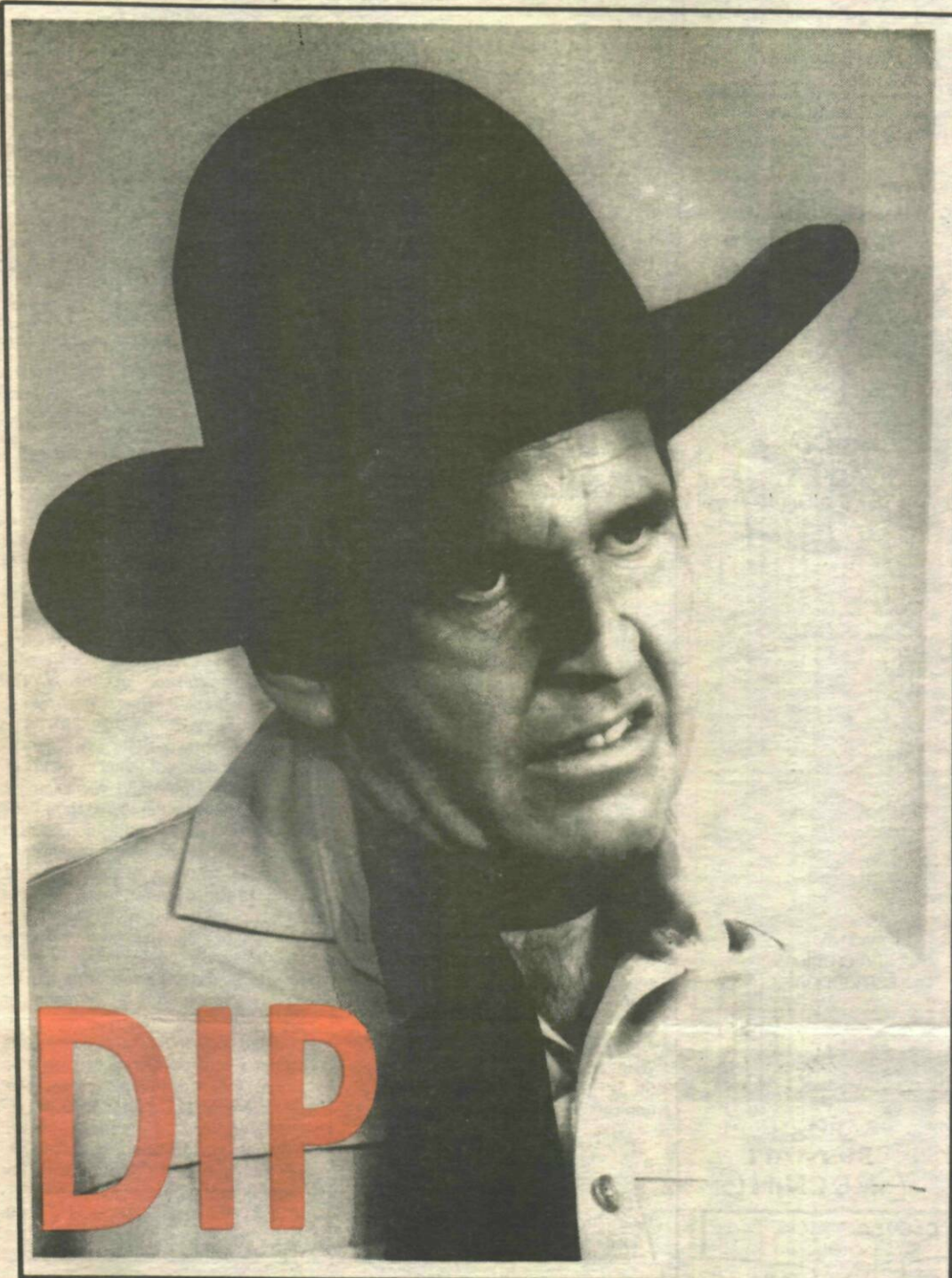
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DOUBLE



By Miles Harvey

INFORMATION LEAKED TO *IN THESE TIMES* FROM the Senate's Subcommittee on Stopping Leaks to the Press Once and For All suggests that the oft-heard question "Where was George?" may soon resonate with new meaning.

The Anachronistic Institute, a Washington-based self-interest group, maintains that the reason why the vice president hasn't been himself lately is that, quite literally, he *hasn't* been himself.

In point of shocking fact, congressional investigators are on the verge of proving what many astute fans of television's *Hollywood Squares* have known for years: Paul Lynde is George Bush.

Consider this startling evidence:

- Bush and Lynde have the exact same grating, nasal dweeb voice.
- Bush and Lynde have the exact same bad haircut.

Independently, these clues mean nothing, but congressional investigators say

that taken together, they paint a startling picture.

Moreover, why is it that you never see Bush and Lynde together? Some lapdog White House apologists maintain that it's because Lynde is dead.

Starting from square one: Indeed, Lynde was previously thought to have died in 1980, the year Bush was elected vice president. But a draft report for the subcommittee released exclusively to *In These Times* suggests that the former *Bewitched* star never died—but was instead given cosmetic surgery to look like Bush.

President Reagan is said to have personally initiated the identity change. According to the report, Reagan believed that Lynde—who starred in such films as *Beach Blanket Bingo*, *The Glass Bottom Boat* and *Gidget Gets Married*—was better qualified than vice presidential nominee Bush, a former congressman, U.N. ambassador and CIA director.

"The president made *Bedtime for Bonzo*; Lynde made *Son of Flubber*," said

Evidence mounts of another nefarious 1980 Reagan campaign swap.

an administration source familiar with the case. "There's a real bond there. Reagan was concerned that should something happen to him, the presidency would go to someone whose work he knew and respected."

Where's the rest of him? The Reagan campaign, according to the report, paid the real Bush "hush money" from a "slush fund" in what Washington insiders are already calling "Bushhushslush-gate." Bush was reportedly given a new identity as a piece of quarter-inch plywood, "something he's often been mistaken for," according to a friend of the Bush family. He is currently thought to be part of a double bay colonial home in the Seattle area.

The Dukakis camp is apparently aware of the congressional investigation, and seems eager to make the Bush-Lynde link an election issue. But Bush aides warned the Dukakis strategy may backfire. "We've

got a few bombshells of our own, if push comes to shove," warned one Bush campaign official. "Ever notice how much Dukakis can remind you of a game show host? Hey, whatever happened to [former *Hollywood Squares* host] Peter Marshall, anyway? I wonder what *he'd* look like with a couple of fake eyebrows?"

So far the mainstream media has been slow to pick up on the Bush-Lynde story. But there is evidence that some top news outlets may be preparing to break the story. ABC News anchorman Peter Jennings, for instance, began a question at last month's debate with a telltale slip: "George Bush to block..."

Indeed, the vice president's public persona seems to have become increasingly Lynde-like in recent weeks. Bush's recent rash of goofy one-liners, such as "Go ahead, make my 24-hour time period," prompted one investigator to observe, "The old Bush was incapable of attempting humor. Paul Lynde was incapable of executing it. It's all starting to add up."